177 Toda AW60
439
●648

[For information on traditional interdependence with the Badaga AW50, see 2: Hockings, Category 177, pp. 111, 117, and 118-122, Category 648, pp. 111-116, and 118-119, and Category 439, pp. 116-118 and 121-122.]

177
439
648

Kurumba AW56

[For information on traditional interdependence with the Badaga AW50, see 2: Hockings, Category 177, pp. 123-126, Category 648, pp. 122-124, and Category 439, pp. 124 and 126.]

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AWSO Badaga AWSO

578 Among the Badagas, Konga is used as a term of abuse. Those who made mistakes in matching Holmgren's wools, with which I tested them, were always called Konga by the onlookers.

576 (561) When two Badagas meet each other, the elder touches the head of the younger with his right hand. This form of salutation is known as giving the head. A person of the Badaga section gives the head, as it is called, to an Udaiyar, in token of the superiority of the latter. When people belong to the same sept, they say "Ba, anna, appa, thamma, amma, akka" (come, father, brother, (612) mother, sister, etc.). But, if they are of different septs, they will say "Ba, māma, māmi, bava" (come, uncle, aunt, brother-in-law, etc.). "Whenever," Dr. Rivers 609 writes,* "a Toda meets a Badaga monegar (headman), or an old Badaga with whom he is acquainted, a salutation passes between the two. The Toda stands before the Badaga, inclines his head slightly, and says 'Madtin pudia.' (Madtin, you have come). The Badaga replies 'Buthuk! buthuk!' (blessing, blessing), and rests his hand on the top of the Toda's head. This greeting only takes place between Todas and the more important of the Badaga community. It would seem that every Badaga headman may be greeted in this way, but a Toda will only greet other Badaga elders, if he is already acquainted with them. The salutation is made to members of all the various castes of the Badagas, except • 618 the Toreyas. It has been held to imply that the Todas regard the Badagas as their superiors, but it is doubtful how far this is the case. The Todas themselves say they follow the custom because the Badagas help to support them. It seems to be a mark of respect paid

(113)

* The Todas, 1906.

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

648 by the Todas to the elders of a tribe with which they have very close relations, and it is perhaps significant that no similar sign of respect is shown to Toda elders by the Badagas."

648 439 Every Badaga family has its Muttu Kota, from whom it gets the agricultural implements, pots, hoes, etc. In return, the Kotas receive an annual present of food-grains, mustard and potatoes. For a Kota funeral, the Badagas have to give five rupees or a quantity of rice, and a buffalo. The pots obtained from the Kotas are not used immediately, but kept for three days in the (824) jungle, or in a bush in some open spot. They are then taken to the outer apartment of the house, and kept there for three days, when they are smeared with the bark of *Meliosma pungens* (the tūd tree of the Todas) and culms of *Andropogon Schœnanthus* (bzambe hullu). (783) Thus purified, the pots are used for boiling water in for three days, and may then be used for any purpose. The Badagas are said to give a present of grain annually to the Todas. Every Toda mand (or mad) seems to have its own group of Badaga families, who pay them this gudu, as it is called. "There are," Dr. Rivers writes, "several regulations concerning the food of the palol (dairy-man of a Toda sacred dairy). Any grain he eats must be that provided by the Badagas. At the present time more rice is eaten than was formerly the case. This is not grown by the Badagas, but nevertheless the rice for the palol must be obtained through them. The palol wears garments of a dark grey material made in the Coimbatore district. They are brought to the palol by the Badaga called tikelfmav. The earthenware vessels of the inner room (of the ti dairy) are not obtained from the Kotas, like the ordinary vessels, but are made by Hindus, and are procured through the Badagas."

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

186
[648]
[538]

The Badagas live in dread of the Kurumbas, and the Kurumba constantly comes under reference in their folk-stories. The Kurumba is the necromancer of the hills, and believed to be possessed of the power of outraging women, removing their livers, and so causing their death, while the wound heals by magic, so that no trace of the operation is left. He is supposed, too, to have the power of opening the bolts of doors by magic, and effecting an entrance into a house at night for some nefarious purpose. The Toda or Badaga requires the services of the Kurumba, when he fancies that any member of his family is possessed of the devil, or when he wants to remove the evil eye, to which he imagines that his children have been subjected. The Kurumba does his best to remove the malady by repeating various mantrams (magical formulæ). If he fails, and if any suspicion is aroused in the mind of the Toda or Badaga that he is allowing the devil to play his pranks instead of loosing his hold on the supposed victim, woe betide him. The wrath of the entire village, or even the whole tribe, is raised against the unhappy Kurumba. His hut is surrounded at night, and the entire household massacred in cold blood, and their huts set on fire. This is very cleverly carried out, and the isolated position of the Kurumba settlements allows of very little clue for identification. In 1835 no less than fifty-eight Kurumbas were thus murdered, and a smaller number in 1875 and 1882. In 1891 the live inmates of a single hut were murdered, and their hut burnt to ashes, because, it was said, one of them who had been treating a sick Badaga child failed to cure it. The crime was traced to some Kotas in conjunction with Badagas, but the District Judge disbelieved the evidence, and all who were charged were acquitted. Every Badaga family pays an annual

648
[754]

[175]

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

tax of four annas to the Kurumbas, and, if a Kurumba comes to a Badaga hatti (village), a subscription is raised as an inducement to him to take his departure. The Kurumba receives a fee for every Badaga funeral, and for the pregnancy ceremony (kannikattu).

It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "the Toda sorcerers are not only feared by their fellow Todas, but also by the Badagas, and it is probably largely owing to fear of Toda sorcery that the Badagas continue to pay their tribute of grain. The Badagas may also consult the Toda diviners, and it is probable that the belief of the Badagas in the magical powers of the Todas is turned to good account by the latter. In some cases, Todas, have been killed by Badagas owing to this belief."

Among the Todas, the duties of milking the buffaloes and dairy-work are entrusted to special individuals, whereas any Badaga male may, after initiation, milk the cows and buffaloes, provided that he is free from pollution. Every Badaga boy, when he is about seven or nine years old, is made to milk a cow on an auspicious day, or on new year's day. The ceremony is thus described by Mr. Natesa Sastri. "Early in the morning of the day appointed for this ceremony, the boy is bathed, and appears in his holiday dress. A she-buffalo, with her calf, stands before his house, waiting to be milked. The parents, or other elder relations of the boy, and those who have been invited to be present on the occasion, or whose duty it is to be present, then conduct the boy to the spot. The father, or some one of the agnatic kindred, gives into the hands of the boy a bamboo vessel called hone, which is already very nearly full of fresh-drawn milk. The boy receives the vessel with both his hands, and is conducted to the buffalo. The elder relations show him the process, and the boy,

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Traditional Interchange (2)

BADAGAS AND TODAS

177 [178] Until quite recently every Badaga family maintained an exchanging relationship with a Toda man; some still do.[1] This relationship is inherited on either side by a son from his father and usually links one Toda to an entire Badaga village. This connexion is structurally different from the ties between Badagas and Kotas, as specific Toda women are not formally involved in it in the way that Kota wives are; for in a polyandrous society like the Todas' the fact that a woman might have several husbands simultaneously could mean that if she were associated with the Badaga partner of each she would become overwhelmed by the requirements of these divided loyalties. In practice the same Toda man is normally partner to all the Badagas in a village, and some are even linked with everyone in half-a-dozen neighbouring Badaga villages.

175 ● 648 Toda culture has seemingly changed less than either Badaga or Kota culture during the past century-and-a-half. Indeed Finicio, writing in 1603 (p. 723), describes the same economy and the same kind of interdependence with Badagas that Rivers was to find exactly 300 years later.

In the early days of European contact Harkness (1832, 39) noted:

> A very good understanding exists between these two tribes, the Tuda assuming to himself a superiority which the Burgher

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

[Badaga] has no inclination to dispute; and the former, content with this privilege, willingly yields to the latter the palm of superior civilization and domestic economy; which he would think dearly bought, if at the expense of any portion of his natural liberty, or of his freedom to range, when and where he pleases, over his native mountains.

In 1963 an elderly Toda summarized the present situation: 'The Badagas now consider themselves superior to the Todas as they have risen financially. The Todas do not accept the Badaga superiority. Todas are superior because they do not eat flesh, while Badagas do.' But further questioning revealed that the attitudes recorded by Harkness still pertain.

The nature of the status difference between the two communities is shown more precisely in their customary salutations, still sometimes performed.

> Whenever a Toda meets a Badaga *monegar* (headman) or an old Badaga with whom he is acquainted, ... the Toda stands before the Badaga, inclines his head slightly, and says "*Madtin pudia!*" ("*Madtin*, you have come.") The Badaga replies "*Buthuk! buthuk!*" ("Blessing, blessing") and rests his hand on top of the Toda's head. This greeting only takes place between Todas and the more important of the Badaga community ... The salutation is made to members of all the various castes [phratries] of the Badagas except the Torayas. It has been held to imply that the Todas regard the Badagas as their superiors, but it is doubtful ... The Todas themselves say they follow the custom because the Badagas help to support them. It seems to be a mark of respect paid by the Todas to the elders of a tribe with which they have very close relations, and it is perhaps significant that no similar sign of respect is shown to Toda elders by the Badagas (Rivers, 1906, 630; compare Walker, 1965, 78).

Although Badagas have in the past been strongly motivated to maintain their links with the Todas out of economic considerations, these links are apparently tinged with some distrust. While the Kurumbas are viewed by all neighbouring communities as highly dangerous sorcerers, many Badagas and Kurumbas believe Todas also have some lesser skill in sorcery; and this suspicion

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

•648 186 may in part explain why some Badagas have kept up the exchange relationship even when they might have preferred to drop it.[2]

> There is no doubt that the Badagas believe in the powers of the Toda sorcerers. I was told [in 1902] of several definite instances in which misfortunes were believed to have been brought . . . in this way, and there is little doubt that, in one case, the supposed author of the death of a child was murdered by the Badagas.
>
> If a Badaga suspects magical influence of this kind he may consult one of the Toda diviners, showing that the Badagas believe in Toda divination as well . . . (Rivers, 1906, 635; cf. Thurston, 1912, 234).

Even natural catastrophes have been attributed by Badagas to the supernatural powers of Todas.

> When any epidemic prevails among the Badagas or a murrain decimates their cattle, their first endeavour is to discover the Todas, to whose enchantments the calamity may be attributed. . . . [c. 1847] the whole male population of two neighbouring Toda munds [hamlets] were taken before the chief Badaga of the district and accused of having killed the cattle by means of sorcery, the Badagas threatening at the same time to withhold their usual tribute of grain unless the murrain immediately ceased. The Todas readily consented to stop their enchantments . . . Shortly after, the disease abated and the simple Badagas at once viewed this as the result of their compact with the Todas (Metz, 1864, 21-22).

Metz once rescued a Toda from fifty Badagas who were on the point of hanging him for suspected sorcery, but more recently Badagas did murder a Toda sorcerer after one of their children died (B.E.M.S., 1855, no. 15, 39; Metz, 1864, 34; Francis, 1908, 144; see below, p. 201).

Badaga Products

175 648 The above-mentioned 'tribute' of grain, or *gudu*, is well documented by the earlier writers. Finicio (1603, 727) mentions that at the start of the seventeenth century the Todas were subject and paying

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

175
●648

tribute to the Badaga headmen. It is important to note that all later authorities talk of the Badaga headmen paying Todas; perhaps the Italian priest (who worked through an interpreter) was misinformed. In 1832 Harkness (p. 110) recorded that the Badagas were giving grain to the Todas 'rather as a free gift, than as tribute'. Ouchterlony, writing in 1848 (p. 38), considered it rent for the land (Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 15; Grigg, 1880, 328). The Todas themselves think of it as a rent for certain hamlet sites their ancestors gave the Badaga settlers.

The *guḍu* was not exactly a rent for land though, for when Badagas sold land to European planters there was never any stipulation that the new owners should give anything to the Todas; nor did the Todas advance such claims against these Europeans.[3] Furthermore there is no record of Todas objecting to the government's levy of its full revenue assessment on the Badaga lands whence the *guḍu* came (Breeks, 1873, 12–13).

The amount of *guḍu* varied, possibly from one part of the plateau to another or from harvest to harvest. Harkness (1832, 108, 110–111) noted that around Kotagiri the Badagas reserved about 36 litres for the Todas, half of that for the dairyman-priest; elsewhere much less was given.[4] In 1848 Ouchterlony wrote that the contribution varied 'according to the circumstances of the inhabitants, the owner of a rich house giving usually 1 cundagum = 20 kollagums [= 74 litres]; and those less opulent from ½ to ¼ cundagum...' However, he noted that although the Badagas professed to give one-sixth of their harvest, they in fact gave 'not above one-half of this proportion, if even so much, especially in the item of wheat which is so profitable to them' (Ouchterlony, 1848, 17; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 15). From this it appears that grain prices in the town markets were so high in 1847 that the Badagas chose to short-change Todas for the sake of extra cash income. In 1873 the *guḍu* was said 'formerly to represent about 1/10 or 1/8 or 1/5 of the gross produce' (Breeks, 1873, 9, note; Grigg, 1880, 333). The indefiniteness of the amount was discussed by Marshall (1873, 79):

> ... as no very accurate accounts are kept... this foraging [in Badaga villages] stands with the Toda in lieu of sport...; it being to the interest of the Badagas to postpone and shirk payment of grain as long as possible: whilst... the state of the Toda stores, and his natural persistency combined, are urging

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

him on to repeat the visits.... The result being that the Toda gets exactly as much grain as will just satisfy his actual necessities.[6]

Ouchterlony traces the origin of the grain gift to the earliest Badaga settlement on the hills. He attributes the subsequent decrease in the amount to a lack of deference on the part of the Badagas:

> ... some Burghers or "Buddaghars" came up the Hills and... asked permission to settle also and obtained it on condition of the payment of the "goodoo" or tribute of 1/6th. of their entire harvest. More Burghers soon followed the first comers; the amount of the "goodoo" became extensive; the habits of the Todars changed... the deference of the Burghers for them diminished, and with it the amount of the "goodoo", which received a great acceleration in its decline by the coming of the Europeans...; the Burghers observing their indifference to the alleged claims of sovereignty of their hitherto feudal landlords, gradually assumed the position of donors of the "goodoo" of free will, and as a charity; and hence reduced its amount as the circumstances of... harvest, or their own wants and inclinations, directed. Upon this footing... the "goodoo" appears at present to rest. The Burghers profess not to desire to be relieved from it as a tax, because to give it as a donation to the Todars has become with them a timehonored custom (Ouchterlony, 1848, 52-53; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 53-57).

Rivers, among others, suggests that the Badaga fear of Toda sorcery was one reason for the continuing payment of grain. But he adds correctly that Todas do own some disused dairies in the middle of Badaga fields, and that if the Todas became too estranged from Badagas they might re-assert their claims over these sites and so cause a few Badagas to lose farm-land. Another reason claimed for the continuing payment is that it might encourage Todas to restrain their herds from trampling the Badagas' fields (Breeks, 1873, 13; Lawley & Penny, 1914, 206; Emeneau, 1971, 45, 751). All of these arguments are denied by modern Todas, who now mention the great distance between most Toda grazing and Badaga lands, the non-existence of Toda sorcery, and the absence of any usable Toda dairies in Badaga

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

farm-land. In the Toda view *gudu* was never compulsory but was an annual gift the Badagas used to make in return for help rendered by Todas and for old hamlet sites the Todas had once presented to certain Badaga immigrants.

Since 1900 the grain given has not been enough to feed the Todas, so that they have also bought grain and rice at the bazaar (Breeks, 1873, 13; Rivers, 1906, 632–633). Some modern informants say the Toda associated with a Badaga village could expect roughly four litres of inferior-quality grain from each household there, but this would vary with the donor's generosity. The system of *gudu* is still operating in some villages today, mostly those closer to the grazing lands of Todana:du. Few Todas now consider it worth the trouble or the indignity of going to each house and trying to get their annual due, while few Badagas see it as a duty rather than mere charity to give visiting Todas anything.

It is traditionally in September that Todas go to collect the grain—either little or finger millet, or nowadays local potatoes or paddy rice imported from the plains. They decide among themselves how to divide up the task of collection, and then one man goes to each village and visits every house. Where practicable he will be the traditional partner of those particular Badagas (Emeneau 1938, 103). Until the early twentieth century it was unnecessary for him to call at each house because the Badaga headman himself would collect the grain from the donors beforehand.

There are other items which Todas regularly expected from their Badaga partners as well. Before the Ootacamund bazaar came into being much of their cloth came from Badagas.[8] This and the materials for embroidery were initially supplied by a Badaga's Chetti partner, or else bought directly from an itinerant Chetti (see below, pp. 143–145). In the days before the cash economy Todas could obtain from their Badaga partners salt and crude sugar, both of which were bought in the plains during the annual trading expedition there.[9] An item which Todas, like Kotas, very rarely got from Badagas was opium; today some buy poppy capsules in the market but have long ceased getting them from Badagas.

Toda Services and Products

In turn, certain necessities of Badaga life regularly came from the Todas. Of prime importance was dairy produce, mainly clarified

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AM50 Badaga AM50

formerly a common practice for rich Badagas to hire forty or fifty Todas to go on wife-stealing expeditions, and carry off by force the wives of other Badagas' (Metz, 1864, 75). Today, while the practice of stealing wives may continue, assistance from the Todas is no longer required. A parallel situation in which gangs of Badagas used to help Todas steal wives is also recalled. In either case the assistants each received a few rupees.

Badagas are very fond of betting; and so when they meet informally a Badaga and a Toda sometimes have a bet over the possibility of their performing some athletic feat, such as lifting a boulder (Rivers, 1906, 597–598).

Medicine is another matter that can bring Todas and Badagas together. Although Todas have therapists in their own tribe they occasionally go to Badagas noted for particular kinds of cure (Rivers, 1906, 323, 634–635; for details of Badaga therapy, see Hockings, 1979b). A Badaga partner may help the Toda arrange treatment; but the therapist himself usually expects some fee or present from the patient.

Todas are considered moderately powerful sorcerers, despite their own recent disclaimers. It was for this reason that the parties of Badagas who went to massacre Kurumbas always included one or two Toda associates to deliver 'the first blow'.[12] This practice has not recurred since 1900; nor have Badagas murdered a Toda sorcerer since that time.

A few affluent Todas (affluent because of illicit land rentals)[13] now live in Badaga-style brick houses instead of the customary thatched huts, as the houses are more spacious and comfortable. This habit began some eighty years ago (Rivers, 1906, 29, 634). The Badaga-style houses (distinct from modern government-financed housing) are built in a Toda hamlet by Badagas hired for the purpose but not necessarily by a man's Badaga partner.

Ritual Interaction

A common setting for interaction between the two communities is ceremonial. On some Badaga festival days the Toda may be required to bring the sticks and make fire by friction or perhaps bring a new milking vessel. For the annual hunting ceremony of Be:da Sa:mi held by both Badagas and Kotas, the Toda used to bring clarified butter to smear on the weapons. Even so, no very

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

(Rivers, 1906, 236–237). A further item once acquired through Badagas was the above-mentioned vessels used in the sacred *ti:* dairy (Rivers, 1906, 90).

An occasional Toda ritual that Badagas may still attend is the rebuilding or rethatching of a temple. A day or two beforehand some Badaga elders from nearby villages should be invited by their Toda partners. At one such event in 1963 several Badagas made offerings of silver to the Toda temple and quietly made vows before it.

Sometimes when Toda men expect to be busily occupied at some such ceremony they now hire Badaga youths to prepare the food: Toda women could not do this. It is just a matter of convenience, however, and not a traditional element in the bonds between the two communities.

Although Badagas are often invited to a funeral, 'The only part played ... is that the bell called *tukulir mani* may be kept by a Badaga or a Kota' (Rivers 1906, 633). This ancient bronze bell has to be tied round the neck of the sacred buffalo as a part of the ritual before it may be sacrificed. Some Badagas do help of their own volition with the Toda's pyre, and in the last century they used to carry the Toda headman *(manegar)* to the ceremony (Ling, 1892, 76).

A frequent guest at Toda council meetings of both a judiciary and a non-judiciary nature is the headman of Tu:ne:ri village, who is paramount chief of the Badagas. His advice is well regarded by the Todas, and he is expected to help mediate in Toda disputes whether or not Badagas are also involved in them (Rivers, 1906, 550, 633; Walker, 1965, 78, 188–189, 193). Formerly the headman of Ba:kola, who was a divisional headman *(parpati)* of the Badagas, would also attend those meetings.

BADAGAS AND KURUMBAS

The Control of Sorcery

Geographically the Kurumbas are much more isolated from the Badagas than are the Todas or Kotas; nevertheless certain Kurumbas have a crucial role in the Badaga community. A Badaga family does not have a specific Kurumba partner, but each commune appoints a particular Kurumba[19] to act as

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

guardian and watchman to all the constituent villages. This is a lifelong appointment which passes from father to son and involves warding off magical attacks from other Kurumbas with the watchman's own sorcery. As with Toda sorcery these 'magical attacks' were once a common way of interpreting crop failures and animal diseases as well as most human ills. A Kurumba watchman is expected to spend part of the time in his Badaga commune, where he generally lives on the veranda of the headman's house.[20] If he does not appear there very often the Badagas nevertheless believe he is magically present each night or else knows by clairvoyance what is going on in the villages; yet his visits tend to be frequent, for he is fed by the commune. The standard annual remuneration should nowadays be 3.7 litres of wheat or millet from each household.

Most Badagas still believe the Kurumba is the most effective of all South Indian sorcerers: he can kill people at a distance with a spell, can secretly remove internal organs from the living, can rape women without their knowledge, can enter a locked door and can change into an insect or any sort of mammal.[21]

Until perhaps two decades ago Badaga charges were often levelled against Kurumbas; even today the suspicion directed towards them is still strong. Formal charges of witchcraft, handled by Badaga commune councils, used to unite the Badaga community against an external threat of (or target for) aggression; and the massacres which sometimes followed such charges were clearly a tension-reducing activity for the Badagas:

> In 1836, no less than fifty-eight Kurumbas were murdered, and a smaller number in 1875 and 1882. In 1891, the inmates of a single Kurumba hut were said to have been murdered, and the hut burnt to ashes, because one of the family had been treating a sick Badaga child, and failed to cure it .... Again, in 1900, a whole family of Kurumbas was murdered, of which the head, who had a reputation as a medicine man, was believed to have brought disease and death into a Badaga village. The sympathies of the whole countryside were so strongly with the murderers that detection was made very difficult, and the persons charged were acquitted. (Thurston, 1912, 233-234, and 1909, vol. I, 86; he partly quotes from Stuart, 1901, 5; see below, p. 200).

Metz (1864, 123) also wrote on this tension:

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

●648 When I first commenced by missionary labors on the Neilgherries, and whilst I was considered by the natives as their great friend, my object having been then but imperfectly understood, I was repeatedly asked to rid them of the Kurumbas, that is, to get them hunted down like wild beasts and exterminated, and they would remember my name with gratitude for ever.

178 Badagas claim that until quite recently a Kurumba council would
186 sometimes authorize Kurumba youths to go out for a few weeks
648 and practise the sorcery they had learned. At such times the Kurumba watchman would warn all the Badagas he was supposedly protecting that this was going on, and that they should not leave their homes after dark or take needless risks; nor should they blame him for any deaths, as each youth was permitted by the tribal council to kill one man. Since Kurumbas could also kill each other it was believed that no young sorcerer would try his skill against members of a Badaga commune protected by a more powerful Kurumba, as the latter might well retaliate out of revenge against his fellow tribesman.

Exchange of Goods and Services

439 Despite the tension-fraught nature of the relationship, the Kurumba watchman is no mere predator on the paranoid fears of Badagas: he does engage in economic exchange with them, too. Kurumbas are expected to supply the communes with three kinds of basket: two types of winnow and a large flat basket to hold grain while drying. They also provide their Badaga communes with certain rare species of timber found on the jungle slopes, especially the hard *ka:rča* wood needed for pounders. In the past honey, tamarind, bees-wax and knotted nets regularly came from the Kurumbas, as also did some leaf umbrellas and sleeping mats made of split cane or reeds.

178 One duty a Kurumba may perform for Badagas under exceptional circumstances is to remedy illnesses that Badaga therapists have failed to cure. Certain Kurumbas become noted for their abilities to cure specific ailments, either by herbal medicine or by spells, and a Badaga sufferer may arrange for treatment by them through the Kurumba watchman (Thurston, 1912, 233; Hockings, 1979b). Fees or costly presents would have to be given for this favour.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

hundred buffaloes permanently in the Moyar Ditch under the charge of Kasuvas because of shortage of grazing around Be:ragani itself. The herdsmen are paid from temple funds.

As in the case of Kurumbas, Irulas and Uralis, a Kasuva band may perform at Badaga ceremonies in place of the customary Kota one. Aside from this, there is one annual ceremonial event which has brought the two communities together in considerable numbers over the past decade or so. This is a complex *pu:ja* to the goddess Sikkamma at her Kasuva-owned temple in the Moyar Ditch, held every March. Roughly five thousand Badagas and most Kasuvas attend, the highlights of the event being *pu:ja,* a free meal, and a noisy night-time procession with the goddess' image mounted on an electrically lit elephant.

BADAGAS AND URALIS

The Uralis are a tribe of gatherers and shifting cultivators who inhabit jungles on some southern slopes of the plateau. They have no regular connexion with Badagas, but as they are feared for their sorcery they can depend on alms from Badaga villagers should a crop failure force them to wander up onto the plateau, as it occasionally has. Under unusual circumstances Badagas may pay a band of Uralis to perform music at a ceremony when for some reason Kotas cannot be invited.

THE WAINAD GAUDAS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

The Wainad Gaudas are Badagas who settled on the lower plateau some two centuries ago. In proximity to them are various other groups: Kotas, Chettis, Panias, Irulas, Kurumbas and until 1925 some Todas. The Gaudas, a dominant community in the area, cultivate dry and irrigated rice. They claim it was the desire for rice which had prompted their ancestors to move down into the Wainad from Badaga villages on the Nilgiri Plateau.

The community consists only of Gaudas, except one commune which also has some Toreas (now calling themselves Gaudas). The 951 people live in ten communes, each made up of a few hamlets containing one lineage. Every commune has a council, and for complex cases a council of all the Wainad communes is held at

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Pandalu:ru village. This system thus parallels that of the Nilgiri Badagas but does not link up with theirs: cases cannot, for example, be referred to the paramount chief of the Badagas in Tu:ne:ri, and he does not invite Wainad Gaudas to his councils. The head of the all-Wainad council is someone noted for his justice, called the Great Headman (*doḍḍa gauda*); he is selected from any of the communes. Each commune is headed by a man termed the *jammaka:ra*, under whom there are two or three lesser headmen (*kudiare*). Both of these offices are inherited fraternally; i.e., they pass from brother to brother in order of seniority, then on to the eldest brother's eldest son, and so on. Each *kudiare* is responsible for the descendants from one particular Nilgiri division: in Kolepaḷḷi, for example, there are two such headmen because its population is descended from Todana:ḍu and Me:kuna:ḍu villagers. As in the hills, a legal dispute passes up this hierarchy from the *kudiare* to the Great Headman if necessary.

These Gaudas have maintained some marriage connexions with Nilgiri Gaudas, even with families of the gentry. Several communes still intermarry with the Nilgiri Badagas of So:lu:ru; but more generally all of the communes marry endogamously or exogamously within the Wainad community. Their constituent hamlets, being single lineages, are always exogamous.[26]

There is a nineteenth-century account of trading parties of Wainad Gaudas regularly visiting the Me:kuna:ḍu village of Ke:ti (and presumably elsewhere on the plateau), bringing with them buffaloes and gold dust 'for sale' (B.E.M.S., 1854, no. 14, 41).

These Gaudas had no connection with the Todas who, until the 1920s, lived on the edge of the Wainad, but some do maintain an exchange relationship with the Kotas there and also with certain Irulas and Kurumbas. The Kota partner from Gudalu:ru provides pottery as well as a pole used in Gauda funerals, to which he should also bring Kota musicians. He helps, too, with house building (Ranga, 1934, 26). In return he gets an occasional buffalo. Irulas and Kurumbas may also provide music for the funerals. Like the Panias they are valued as basket-makers but have no reputation for sorcery here as they do elsewhere. The Kurumba watchman institution is not encountered in the Wainad.

Gauda landowners have a special relationship with the Pania tribe, some of whom were their praedial slaves.[27] As if to justify this situation some Wainad natives claim the Panias originated as African slaves who escaped from two British ships in Calicut

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

(Kozhikode) during the reign of Tippu Sultan; but it is more likely they were local tribals or slaves (*paṇiyu*) who had escaped across the border from Coorg.[28] These labourers, whose services may be bought along with the land (Thurston, 1909, vol. VI, 58), and whose position there is inherited patrilineally, work without wages in return for regular meals, housing and clothes. Some of the more progressive farmers give them a little pocket-money, too, and normally pay their marriage expenses. In 1976 the Government made a serious effort to release all such people from bondage.

TRADITIONAL INTERCHANGE: A SUMMARY

Each of the four main groups—Badagas, Kotas, Todas and Kurumbas—was linked with each of the others through patrilineally descending partnerships. The men involved in these supplied each other with goods and services supplementing their own economic production and also symbolizing their social interrelationship through ritualized interaction.

Only the Badagas produced a real surplus of grain; Kotas and Kurumbas grew hardly enough crops for their own needs and Todas never grew anything. Thus the Badagas alone were in a position to pass out grain to Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas at harvest-time. They were also to some extent the suppliers of cloth, sugar and salt for these three tribes. While Badagas thus played a major part in the economy of the Nilgiri tribes their role in the rituals of these groups was minimal, probably because the form of the rituals antedated the arrival of the Badagas.

Todas specialized in dairy produce: milk and clarified butter. These they provided on occasion for Badagas, Kotas and Kurumbas. Todas were also able to supply Kotas and Badagas with various cane products: beds, flutes and certain baskets.

The Kotas possessed some buffaloes and cultivated grain, too. But they also made various artifacts for the Badagas who gave them cattle carcasses and grain and for the Todas who gave them clarified butter. The Kotas were the specialists in leather-work, carpentry, pottery, metal-working, thatching and ceremonial music. Their participation in Toda and Badaga funerals was essential.

By comparison with the Kotas, the Toda and Kurumba tribesmen maintained relatively simple relationships with the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

Badagas. Most Kurumbas were kept distant from the other hill peoples because of their residence pattern and their reputation for infallible sorcery. The commune Kurumbas, or watchmen, were appointed by a Kota or Badaga commune to protect its members from Kurumba sorcery. The loyal watchman was rewarded with a dole of grain at harvest, with new cloth whenever he needed it, with meals when he was with the Badagas and in fact with anything else that he might wheedle out of his employers by supernatural threats or promises.

NOTES

1. Only four of the sixteen Toda clans keep up the relationship, and it has been totally abandoned by Christian Todas and Christian Badagas; compare Emeneau, 1939, 101. I am indebted to T. Mutiken, a Toda, for his patient criticism of these pages on Toda/Badaga relations.
2. '... were it not for the hold which the Todas have upon them by the pretended use of witchcraft, they would doubtless refuse payment of their accustomed tribute'; Metz, 1864, 21; compare Marshall, 1873, 145; Grigg, 1880, 328.
3. Ouchterlony, 1848, 59; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 59-60; Breeks, 1873, 12-13; Ward 1821, lxxiii, stated it was paid to Todas because they were 'the hereditary claimants of the soil'. We should note that throughout the second half of the nineteenth century the government allowed the Todas Rs. 150 annually, as 'goodoo' or compensation for former Toda lands now used by Europeans in Ootacamund Municipality; Grigg, 1880, 302, 329-331, 333-341; Price, 1908, 227-228. Similar compensation was paid for Toda and Badaga lands in Coonoor Municipality; Francis, 1908, 343.
4. Harkness (1832, 135-136) gives a general figure of 2.25 litres—probably what each household gave the Todas.
5. Ouchterlony, 1848, 59; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 59; Kotas claim it should be one winnowful (four litres) per household; Emeneau, 1946, 257.
6. Compare Shortt and Ouchterlony, 1868, 59: 'Sometimes the offerings ... are not considered sufficient, and sometimes they refuse to give anything at all, when confusion ensues; the Todars ... entering their houses and laying them under contribution by force.'
7. Grigg, 1880, 195; Rivers, 1906, 261; Francis, 1908, 144; compare Metz, 1864, 41; '... they stand in fear of the supposed power of the Pálaul to kill their cattle by sorcery.'
8. Toda men and women wear the *pu:txulp*—a large cloak intricately embroidered by the women—over a loincloth.
9. On occasions when the Todas did not join Badagas and Kotas in this venture.
10. Rivers, 1906, 634. Toda songs often refer to buffaloes obtained from Badagas for funeral sacrifice; e.g., Emeneau, 1971, 6, 79, 307, 448.
11. Basel Mission, 1905, 305, records the case of a Badaga Christian teacher who had relations in 1903 with a Toda girl and later with his own mare. Emeneau, 1971, 613, cites the case of a Toda woman 'raped by a Badaga'. Another

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AM50 Badaga AM50

report of wife exchange between Todas and Mudugas has not been substantiated by recent investigation; see von Fürer-Haimendorf, 1954, *passim*.

12. Grigg, 1880, 212; compare Metz, 1864, 123, 'Rifle', 1872, 32; Stokes 1883a, 6. They were from one particular clan nicknamed 'Kurumba-cut-people'.

13. Francis, 1908, 272; Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 115; Shaposhnikova, 1969, ch. 22; at present only two Badagas rent land from Todas.

14. Those of the high-status Ha:ruva and Lingayat clans eat only the milk products, not cooked food, if they visit Todas. For an instance of a Toda priest putting butter on the Badaga ceremonial spear, see Emeneau, 1971, 5, 744.

15. There is a kind of upper class among Badagas, which I call the gentry: families claiming direct descent from the founder of their village. It is from these families that the headmen usually come; see above, Diagram 6.

16. The fact that Badagas and anthropologists may go right up to the *ti:* enclosure while Todas stay a hundred meters away perhaps led Rivers to presume his Badaga guide for the day had a special relationship with the *paloł*!

17. The sanctity of milk from sacred buffaloes has been lost once it is made into clarified butter, and this can be sold; Emeneau, 1938, 104, 112.

18. Rivers, 1906, 103. A less reliable source claims the *paloł*'s cloth was woven by the Toreas of Jakkane:ri; near Kotagiri; see Macleane, 1893, 905.

19. *U:r Kuruba*; Breeks, 1873, 53-54. The common spelling *Kurumba* comes from Tamil.

20. No Kurumba is allowed in a Lingayat house, as he is believed capable of polluting it. Other phratries allow him as far as the outer room and consider him less polluting than a Kota.

21. Harkness, 1832, 84-85; Metz, 1864, 116-117; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 84, and 1912, 232-233; 'Miles,' 1951, 71. Fifty years ago an up-to-date old lady was 'experimenting with flying'.

22. Badagas assert it would be unethical or liable to bring misfortune were Kurumbas and Kotas allowed to play music together on the same occasion.

23. Metz, 1864, 116; Thurston, however, stated this to be the *annual* tax paid by each Badaga family; see Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86-87. According to Kotas it should be 'four annas and a meal paid by each house'; Emeneau, 1946, 257.

24. Ward, 1821, lxxvi; Harkness, 1832, 109; Metz, 1864, 116. Around Kotagiri each family gave their Kurumba 18 litres; compare Harkness, 1832, 135, note. Elsewhere he was thought to get about one-sixtieth of the harvest; Harkness, 1832, 57. Earlier his share was put at 15-37 litres per farmer, plus 'as many of the sheaves as he can well bear away on his shoulders'; Ward, 1821, lxxvi. The Kurumbas accepted cooked food from Badagas, uncooked food from Todas, but none from Kotas; Macleane, 1893, 222.

25. Though the Badagas are Shaivites there are also Vaishnavite temples in some villages, managed by Shaivite priests.

26. Marriage, which is rarely polygynous, involves payment of a bridewealth of a hundred rupees, refundable upon divorce; for an instance of marriage between So:lu:r and the Wainad Gaudas, see Emeneau, 1971, 611.

27. Ranga, 1934, 55-59; Noble, 1968, 174-175. This relationship was ended by Government action in 1976.

28. Moses, 1964, 10; Srinivas, 1965, 20-22; *panya* is also a section of the Yerava tribe in Coorg.

[p. 134 is blank]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

attendance coinciding with the conversion and the take-over of some government schools by the Basel Mission. Crops partially destroyed through drought; blamed by Badagas on a curse from the Christian preachers, and by the missionaries on Badaga idolatry.

1859 Continuing drought. By now, ten mission schools opened.

1863 Legislation to stop private parties clearing land to farm in reserved forests. Famine and some migration of Badagas away from their native villages; this was blamed on the missionaries, who were preaching that Christ was responsible for all that happens. The continuing conversions usually attributed by Badagas to sorcery; very low school attendance. Further government order prohibiting the annual fire-walking ceremony.

1864 A Badaga 'oracle' when questioned by villagers indicated the 'English god' was dangerous and evil-intentioned. Consecration of protestant chapel at Ne:rikambe.

1864-1884 Land Settlement; registration of all land holdings and the real end to swidden farming.

1865 Some headmen pulled down their temples and built new but bigger ones, for the first time in brick. Famine on the Nilgiris; drought blamed by Badagas on their gods losing power. A promise reportedly made by the god Irabattaraya to come to the plateau to cure the sick and destroy the missionaries; many disappointed that he did not come.

1873 A Badaga near Wellington became a deathbed convert to the Roman Catholic faith.

1875 Massacre of eighteen Kurumbas by Badagas armed with axes; this in retaliation for a fever among the Badagas.

1876 Monsoons failed; cholera epidemic among Badagas.

1877 Smallpox and cholera epidemics and dysentery on the Nilgiris and famine throughout South India; grain prices double the usual; heavy immigration of starving unemployed people from plains near the Nilgiris; among Badagas much loss of faith in the efficacy of Hindu rituals, and some conversions.

1880 By now 183 Badagas converted to Lutheranism since 1858, and the process continuing slowly; ostracism and physical fighting still associated with each conversion.

1882 Madras Forest Act: defined forest boundaries and further restricted the cutting of timber. Family of a Kurumba

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

sorcerer killed by Badagas and Todas, after three sudden deaths in a Badaga headman's family.

1884 Conclusion of Final Land Settlement (1881–1884). Drought in Nilgiris, followed by crop failure.

1887 Some smallpox; school attendance decreased following a series of conversions. Kurumba shot by a Badaga whose wife he had bewitched.

1889 First mission school opened in Kundena:ḍu, at Bikkaṭṭi, by request of 'a friendly Badaga'.

1890–1910 'Bible women' (South Indian Christians) active in trying to convert Badaga women; very little success.

1891 Massacre of Kurumbas by Badagas.

1897 Opium-eating noted to be on the increase. Factions formed among Ha:ruvas over who should have precedence in walking over fire at their Mahaliṅga festival.

1900 Typhoid epidemic and famine among Badagas; earthquake in Nilgiris; massacre of Kurumbas by Badagas.

1901 Conversion of Kereha:da headman's daughter; attempt to isolate the Badagas of that area from the rest of their community.

1902–1903 Epidemic of plague among Badagas.

1904 Police used to suppress Badaga persecution of a new group of converts; after this date there was no further physical harrassment of Christians.

1904–1905 Plague among Badagas.

1906 Minor earthquake in the Nilgiris; houses shook. Much higher rate of intoxication than in previous years. By now about eight hundred protestant converts.

The cut-off date of 1906 in this skeleton history is somewhat arbitrary; nevertheless it is clear that the misfortunes that dogged the Badagas became considerably less frequent after this date. In 1907 the converts were having factional disputes amongst themselves.

FACTORS LEADING TO STRESS

Biographical material in publications of the Basel Evangelical Lutheran Mission and in the minutes of the Ke:ti parish for the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

parish minutes contain other examples.

Although none of the mission sources has suggested the correlation, it can hardly be doubted that the increased use of opium and liquor in the latter half of the last century was generally related to the higher frequency of stressful situations in the lives of most Badagas during that period.

Massacring of Kurumbas

On several occasions (1824, 1836, 1875, 1882, 1887, 1891 and 1900) Kurumbas were massacred by parties of Badagas.[15] The techniques of killing varied from case to case but usually involved burning down a hut or even a whole hamlet to make the slaughter seem accidental. In 1875 a head Kurumba had bewitched a Badaga woman into loving him and had supposedly caused a fever among Badagas. He was killed in a gun duel, and altogether six households of Kurumbas were massacred with axes. The story was immortalized in the epic ballad of *Kadare Gauda*. In the gruesome case of 1882 the family of another sorcerer were impaled and burnt alive. Common to such killings was the fact that they followed closely on some catastrophe in the Badaga village responsible for the carnage, and also that one or two Todas were always involved. According to Badaga witnesses at the ensuing court trials Kurumba sorcerers had caused deaths or epidemics in the Badaga village, and this sorcery might be halted by the massacre only if a Toda, himself considered a sorcerer, were to strike the first blow against the unfortunate Kurumbas.

Thus, for example, a Badaga killed a Kurumba out of fear of his sorcery after epidemic disease had attacked both the villagers and their cattle and a great part of the murderer's family had died. The heavy sentence given that Badaga by a British magistrate was incomprehensible to the community and reportedly 'gave much encouragement to demonology, and tended greatly to increase the insecurity both of themselves and of their cattle' (Harkness, 1832, 83–84). Without questioning why the buffaloes should have been so perturbed at British justice, we cite this as an early example (*c.* 1828) of Badagas' insecurity being aggravated by British official practice.

Occasionally Todas were accused of witchcraft by Badagas. The relation between the accusation and feelings of stress is also dramatically shown in another incident:

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

• 648 One day a respectable man interrupted Br. Metz by remarking that through his new doctrine their gods had lost much of the respect and reverence in which they were formerly held and this he said was the cause of the great drought and all their misfortunes. . . . Just at this time he was interrupted . . . by a body of people dragging a dead calf along with them and accusing a Toda boy of having killed it by witchcraft. (B.E.M.S., 1858, no. 18, 91-92; the Toda was rescued by Metz; see Metz, 1864, 22-24, 34).

The last known instance of Badagas killing a supposed Toda sorcerer, around 1895, was in retaliation for the death of a Badaga child (Rivers, 1906, 261; Francis, 1908, 144).

Factionalism

121 There is no published evidence of any kind of factional division among the Badagas until the late 1850s. The challenging question that this poses must therefore remain unanswered: was the emergence of factional disputes really a reaction to the stresses of crossing the threshold into the modern world, a world which introduced the Badagas to a cash economy with international markets, a code of law under which they were theoretically on an equal footing with everyone else, opportunities for schooling and literacy, obligations to pay taxes and obey strange foreign officials? Or was the periodic factional restructuring of the community an integral part of Badaga life, something which has occurred for as long as Badagas have existed? We have no means of knowing.

518 There are two different types, or rather different scales, of factions, but both are designated by the same word.[16] First, there are what might be called 'personal' factions or feuds, which stem from differences of opinion in a single village about someone's personal grievance. The second kind of faction embraces virtually all Badaga villages, each of them taking one side or the other in some dispute of general concern to everybody. Descriptions of Badaga reaction to the earliest religious conversions suggest that this type of faction grows out of what is initially a dispute confined to a single village (B.E.M.S., 1889, no. 50, 67-68; Anonymous, 1894, 547-551; Eppler, 1900, 153-155).

518 621

127 From these nineteenth-century descriptions several accounts

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

346 794

12. B.E.M.S., 1865, no. 26, 70-71; Stokes, 1882, 174; Sawday, 1884, 12-13; Francis, 1908, 130; Tignous, 1911, 116. To meet the cost four rupees were levied from each household. Prior to this time Badaga temples had been round thatched structures; compare Breeks, 1873, pl. LXXV, and B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68, plate.

000 13. There are many comparable anecdotes in the presbytery minutes and the various mission periodicals.

186 177

14. Schad, 1908, 134; Butterworth, 1923, 208. Since fresh skeletons were supposedly collected each Christmas, Badagas would only walk around in groups after dusk during November and December, for fear of European headhunters.

648

15. Breeks, 1873, 65; Grigg, 1880, 299, 411; Stokes, 1883, *passim*; Francis, 1908, 155; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86; Tignous, 1911, 155; Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 50. I have been told of a much more recent instance (not well substantiated, however) in which Badagas burnt down a Kurumba hamlet near Mañjakombe because of the excessive demands for food that a Kurumba watchman had been making.

000 16. *kāči*, or in one dialect *kuci*; see Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 79 for cognates.

518 614

17. Wieland, 1900, 86. The Maṇihaṭṭi priests thought themselves superior as their service was done inside the temple while the Taṅga:ḍu priests remained in the outer precincts. The Taṅga:ḍu Ha:ruvas, who by then included several contractors and were distinctly wealthier than Maṇihaṭṭi people, held that fire-walkers should proceed in order of seniority; and in 1897 the senior-most candidate was an old man from Taṅga:ḍu. After that the festival was celebrated by the two villages on alternate years; see Francis, 1908, 340, and Jogi Gowder, no date, 3-5. In a few years the rift had widened, apparently over a marriage quarrel. A Ha:ruva from Maṇihaṭṭi had asked for the sister's daughter of a Gauda headman. The latter arranged her divorce, and she married the Ha:ruva. He, however had, agreed to pay six rupees worth of finger millet for the divorce but never did, precipitating a long court case and a rift between Ha:ruvas and Gaudas. About 1940 the Gaudas of Me:lu:ru successfully wrested the fire-walking ceremony from the now reunited Ha:ruvas of Maṇihaṭṭi, Taṅga:ḍu and two other villages, causing the latter to celebrate the festival on alternating years at two of their villages, but never more at Me:lu:ru. In effect these Gaudas refuse to acknowledge the ritual superiority of the Ha:ruvas with whom they used to intermarry, and also have won themselves legal recognition as owners of a temple which had previously employed Ha:ruva priests.

799 18. The London Missionary Society maintained a catechist there in the late nineteenth century, yet by 1891 there were only twenty-eight Christians in a population of 3574; Nicholson, 1898, 424-425.

000 19. The process of revitalization, though of concern to Max Weber (1946, 1947), was first clarified and labelled by Wallace, 1956, *passim*, and 1966, 158-163; compare Fuchs, 1965, 1-20.

871 20. Anonymous, 1887, 122. 'The increasing prosperity of the Badagas is unquestionably inclining them to seek instruction for their children'; Grigg, 1880, 426.

000 21. Fuchs, 1965, 1. He presents many examples of such movements from all over India.

[p. 212 is blank]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

178 wants to be regarded as an orthodox Shaivite would not wish to
184 attend a funeral where Kotas play dance-music beside the corpse: not only have the (once) carrion-eating Kotas (Breeks, 1873, 42; Grigg, 1880, 205, 479; Mandelbaum, 1960, 274) become 'Untouchables' in the new terminology, but Hindu orthodoxy frowns upon the idea of dancing at a funeral. The new orientation—for a man who is now more a Hindu citizen and less a Nilgiri peasant—seems appropriate to a Badaga who finds himself competing for jobs or
[311] official favours with people from all over southern India. The relatively conservative Badagas of Kundena:du, on the other hand, are among the wealthiest villagers in the district, as nearly all of their land is given over to flourishing tea and coffee plantations. This source of profit and employment is apparently so secure that these people do not feel themselves in serious competi-
177 tion for positions with men from elsewhere. Their confidence in the future allows them to continue at least their ceremonial links with
178 the local Kotas. Few tools are now made by those Kotas, however,
184 for the great quantity of specialized metal items including machinery needed on a plantation has necessarily to be sought in towns, and furthermore these particular Kotas are preoccupied with their own tea estates. Both Kotas and Badagas here activate their traditional relationship only so far as economic expediency permits: where the required tool is too complicated for a blacksmith to make, where the market has the same item at a lower price or where one's labour can be more profitably spent on plantation work than on some customary obligation, the traditional links fall into abeyance (Mandelbaum, 1955, 240).

177 Similar adaptations to the expanding cash economy may be seen in other aspects of the traditional intercommunity relations.
178 Few Todas, to mention another example, now take the trouble to make their annual rounds of Badaga villages in search of their customary dues: Todas feel this smacks of beggary, while most Badagas would find reasons for not giving anything. Badagas for their part never request the Todas to come and take their gifts and only rarely may seek out a Toda friend when a special requirement can be obtained only from him.

In a survey made in 1963 it was found that 33% of Badaga respondents no longer had any contact with or attitude towards the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas; and the younger they were, the
• 648 more alienated they felt from these tribes. Nevertheless many more respondents in all age groups disliked the Kurumbas than disliked

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Todas or Kotas: the old fear of witchcraft lingers on. In the middle age-group of the sample (35 to 54 years) there was a significant correlation[15] between dislike of Kurumbas and a feeling that the world in general is a dangerous and evil place—an interesting confirmation of our earlier assertion that witchcraft accusations against Kurumbas have in the past been associated with general feelings of insecurity and stress (see above, pp. 200–201).

In general Badagas feel little compunction to maintain an association that is clearly not economically feasible. Among the indigenous peoples they are taking the lead in finding and internalizing new orientations, which help them secure a place in the national economy and society at the expense of their traditional position in Nilgiri society. While Kotas, Kurumbas and even some Todas are adopting the Badagas as a model, Badagas are following urban Tamilians and Christians in valuing the products of modern technology, seeking monetary profit, good education and a westernizing life-style they think acceptable in a modern urban context.

CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE

We have already commented on changing patterns of marriage and residence and will now examine how the position of the gentry and the roles of the individual have altered with recent changes in the social structure. The central idea in this discussion is that social structure can usefully be defined as a system of linked network-clusters and that the status of a villager is determined by his position in these clusters.

The distinction between gentry[16] and non-gentry is sufficiently precise that all families can be assigned to one category or the other by those who know them. Perhaps five per cent of the community is now considered as gentry. Until the mid-nineteenth century the most prestigious family of gentry was the largest family possible. This was often achieved through polygynous marriages; in one case in the 1950s, probably a record for Badagas, a wealthy but infertile man had five wives simultaneously. In these families men were often several decades older than their wives; I know of a case where the husband was over 90 when the youngest of his three wives was 26. Polygyny, however, is no longer common.

3: Hockings E-S (1962-1963) 1968
AN50 Badaga AN50

salt being one of the few items that the hill people used to carry up from market towns on the plains during their annual trading expeditions.[5] We may perhaps infer that the salt-giving was already a ceremony from the tradition that the men in these parties who were carrying salt specifically to give to their buffaloes were supposed to keep themselves in a ritually pure state, and were not allowed to carry any other trade items at the same time. One man would therefore carry salt for a number of men in the trading party, and they in turn would carry his purchases. Salt intended for domestic use was never treated with such reverence. Once a market had been established in the new British hill town of Ootacamund, *ca.* 1825, these old trading expeditions fell into abeyance because the Badagas could then purchase salt without having to leave the hills.[6]

The annual ceremony of giving "new-grass salt," called *'ka:ruppu*, is performed separately by each hamlet in March of every year, on the Monday that falls within the eight days following the new moon. At about the time of the new moon itself one man is selected from every household in each hamlet to represent that family; generally the head of the family assumes the role, unless the purificatory preparations are too burdensome for him.

Early in the morning of the ceremony, after the house has been purified, each of these men goes out to his cattle shed and brings in the salt he has purchased. This coarse salt is then powdered in a mortar inside the house with a special iron bar supplied by the Kota craftsmen.

At the appropriate time the hamlet headman comes along each street calling out, "Are you ready?"[7] Each celebrant then picks up his powdered salt in its basket[8] and stands near the doorway. At a signal from the headman, the man who represents the Great House (i.e., that of the hamlet's founding family) is the first to leave his doorway. He goes and stands on the village green, and all of the other men selected immediately come out and line up behind him. They then start off for the stream where the salt-feeding will take place. The man from the Great House stays in the lead. At some distance behind this party of celebrants other members of their families follow, driving the cattle or just coming along to watch; but no women can be present.

This group goes to the bank of a stream near the hamlet, carrying their baskets of salt, iron rods, pots, and hoes. Near the stream the man from the Great House digs a shallow, round hole with his hoe, two to three feet wide and a foot deep. The other men then follow suit, each using his own hoe to dig a hole for his own cattle. During the present century, however, the Badaga cattle herds have become much smaller than before, and so only one man from each lineage is usually selected to dig a pit for all the cattle belonging to that lineage. (Generally a Badaga hamlet is made up of three or four lineages, one at least of which is recognized as having descended from the hamlet founder.) After each of these pits has been dug, the loose dirt in it is brushed out with a branch of the *'hubbe* plant.[9]

The sun is now in the east, for it is still morning. When the pits have been dug, the man from the Great House takes a handful of salt from his

3: Hockings: E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AN50 Badaga AN50

796 basket and goes to the bank of the stream, facing toward the sun. In one hand he holds a pot. The rest of the men do likewise, taking care to (292) stand downstream from the leader. Each has a handful of salt and a pot, and each wears a cotton shawl which leaves the entire right arm bare.

796 The leader (usually prompted in a whisper by some one else who knows 782 it better) then pronounces the following prayer (pausing at the end of each line, whereupon the rest of the party repeats the last word in lieu of saying the entire line over):

539 O Lord [Swami], we today celebrate things as our
fathers, grandfathers and forefathers have done.
782 Old is not new, and new is not old [i.e., old things
are not neglected, nor new things added].
796 Whatever we sow, may it grow more than ninefold.
Whichever female cattle conceive, may they give us
plenty of milk.
Whatever we put on the threshing ground, may it not be
wasted [i.e., may all the grain reach the store
without mishap].
O God, may the cow or young buffalo be impregnated by
the male just after getting its second teeth.
Just before getting its fourth teeth, may its calf walk.
May the house be filled with children, and may the pen
be filled with cattle.
Let everything be good. *Hau hau!*

The prayer is uttered in this fashion three times. At the end of the second recital the men shout *"hau hau"* twice, and at the end of the third they shout it at least three times, in expression of their happiness.

As the final words of this prayer are uttered, each man stoops beside the stream, still with his salt in one hand and pot in the other. He mixes the salt in the running water and catches some of this saline solution in the pot.

796 The leader then takes his pot of brine and pours it into the pit that he dug. The other men follow suit. Then all the cows and oxen, but not the 231 buffaloes, are driven to the pits to drink. When the animals have emptied a pit, more water is thrown in and further salt added without additional ceremony. Only after the cows and oxen wander away from these pits are the buffaloes finally allowed their drink of brine. A few of the men then refill their pots with water and pour it over the backs of the animals "to cool them."

796 When this phase of the proceedings is completed, each man fills his pot with water again and then sits down in the grass nearby. At this point ● 618 one or two Todas, who have been waiting for this moment, come forward and approach each Badaga in turn. The Badagas give most of the salt remaining in their baskets to these Toda friends.

796 After this, one of the Badagas goes to a dewberry bush and cuts off a 824 branch. This is regarded as a ritual, and is done with a small knife made by

(412)
(618)

3: Hockings' E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AW50 Badaga AW50

Kotas especially for this purpose. Sprigs from the branch are distributed, and every man places a small sprig on top of the salt that remains in his basket. A branch is also cut from the hill gooseberry and distributed in exactly the same way.

The celebrants now return to their homes, again led by the man from the Great House. Other male members of each family may follow this party, driving the buffaloes and carrying the hoes. Each man in the ceremonial party, however, has to carry his own potful of water, his iron rod, and his basket (which now contains a little salt, the two twigs mentioned, and also a remaining piece of the *'hubbe* that has otherwise been used as a brush). As the men walk they chant *"hau hau,"* an expression of their happiness. When they reach the hamlet they shout *"ki:i:hi,"* which means, "It is finished." Then the party splits up. Each member goes to his calves and gives them a taste of the salty water he has brought back. After that he is ready to enter his house.

There is still more ritual to be performed, however, for the man must enter his house in a prescribed way. As he comes toward the entrance, the oldest woman in the family stands just inside the inner room, leaning out through its doorway in such a way that she can also see through the entrance to the house. As soon as she sees the man coming across the front yard, she asks him three times in succession, "Have all the cattle drunk salt well?" He answers "Yes" each time. During this interchange the man continues walking but his pace is measured so that he will not enter the house until he has said "Yes" for the third time. On reaching the doorway he is careful to step auspiciously across the threshold with the right foot first.

Once inside the house he stands the iron rod against the wall near the door, and then puts the basket of salt on top of the hole in the floor where grain is usually crushed and where the salt was powdered earlier. The woman then comes from the inner room, takes the three sprigs from this basket, and hangs them from the ceiling of the outer room. She carries the basket to the inner room, which is a kitchen and dining room, and she uses up whatever salt remains in cooking a meal. During the whole performance of the salt-giving ceremony she should use no other salt than this. (Nowadays she has generally finished cooking by the time the man returns home, and so just adds a pinch of his salt to the prepared meal.)

The meal which is served at this time to the members of the household differs from ordinary morning meals in certain respects. The man who has represented the family in the salt-giving ceremony is served before everyone else; ordinarily this would only occur when no other adult male members of the family were present. Furthermore, he is served in the outer room of the house, although meals are otherwise eaten in the inner room, where they are cooked. He eats butter first of all; the rice and vegetable curry follow. Afterwards he must wash his hands in cold water; usually he washes in hot.

During the afternoon each of the celebrants carries his pot of water to the cattle pen and there pours it on the ground. Again the man from the

3: Hockings' E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AW50 Badaga AW50

562 796 in each family acts out the ritual of inquiring after the cattle when the salt-giver returns home. Her questioning of him, her standing inside the kitchen, her hanging up of the three sprigs, her cooking with the special salt, and her feeding of this man before the others constitute a reaffirmation of her household role: she must keep the house tidy, cook the meals, and be solicitous of the man's needs and interests.

622 796 CS54 The hamlet headman (who is normally one of the participants in the ceremony) yields precedence to the leader from the Great House on this occasion. The head of each Great House is a kind of priest, while the hamlet headman is essentially a secular official. The headman is responsible for whatever small arrangements are required in staging this ceremony. It is he who should send a message to the relevant Toda friends telling them when the ceremony will be held, and it is he who is responsible for deciding [S54] when to begin the procession out of the hamlet. Normally a headman may [S76] wear a turban at all times, but on this particular occasion he wears no turban, out of deference to the man from the Great House, the representative of the village's origin.

178 • 648 The Todas are bound to Badagas by a very complex system of exchanges (Rivers 1906). In the days before a Nilgiri market was opened, the Badaga salt-giving ceremony was the major source for salt needed by the Toda tribe. Today the gift of salt to Todas is still a recognition by Badagas of the help the Todas extend them in various matters connected with herding.

796 648 Kotas, unlike Todas, are considered a polluting tribe, and consequently the Badagas do not invite them to attend this auspicious ceremony. Yet the ties that link Badagas with Kotas are even closer than those with the Todas, and at every point in the ceremony the help of Kota craftsmen is evident. The iron bar (*'ha:re*) with which salt is powdered is made by Kotas particularly for this use; the iron rod (*'uppu'kol*) carried to the stream—which now serves no utilitarian purpose—is made by Kotas; the pot used in the ceremony was traditionally a Kota product although nowadays metal vessels from the market are often used instead; the small knife (*'uppu 'katti*) used in cutting the branches still comes from the Kotas; the hoe and any other tools used in digging the pits are made by Kotas; and the pot in which the meal is finally cooked was traditionally theirs as well. The cattle shed and pen would also have been constructed initially with [C18] Kota help. Today, consequent upon a rift in 1928 between the Kotas and most Badaga hamlets, there is much less insistence that Kota products be used in this ceremony, but up to that time such insistence was the rule.

796 In summary, the salt-giving ceremony is one in which each Badaga hamlet expresses its hope and expectations for the bounties that come in the form of cattle, harvest, children, the village society, wild Nilgiri vegetation, and relations with the Toda and Kota tribes. To have the maximum effect in promoting these benefits ceremonially, the participating men put themselves into a state of ritual purity and take great care that nothing inauspicious foil their purpose on this day.

121 796 We can explain the structure of the salt-giving ceremony by reference to certain principles underlying the structure of Badaga society. The per-

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
ANSO Badaga ANSO

But no great change has come in salt-giving and the other important rituals of either the Badagas or the Todas. Indeed, only one general change is apparent in recent performances of the traditional ceremonies: they are done with a minimum of wasted time. Now that Badagas and even some Todas have become involved in the marketing economy, they have less time to spend idly, since time now means income. They tend to perform ritual acts with some haste, and they do not always feel concerned if a minor item in the ritual sequence is altogether omitted from a particular performance. Public opinion still favors as authentic a performance as possible, however, for the relationship between the continued performance of the rituals and the continuance of the social order is even today believed to be a real and crucial one.

Wallace's contention that rituals do not have an information function has, we hope, been qualified by this paper. The kind of information which a ritual such as salt-giving presents is information not available from any other source, whether mass media or traditional oral channels. Neither government nor gossip can reassure a community on the matter of its continued existence as a community; only the periodic re-enactment of roles and the reassertion of traditional values in the indigenous ceremonies of a culture can give Badagas, Todas, and other rural communities the security of knowing that their own particular way of life is both persistent and worthwhile.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to the American Institute of Indian Studies for a fellowship which enabled me to do field research there in 1962-63. The present paper has been written with the help of a grant from the Chancellor's Committee on International and Comparative Studies, University of California at Los Angeles. I am also grateful to M. N. Thesingh, a Badaga Lingayat who provided much of the material, and to John Hitchcock for his helpful criticism.

2. Terracing of slopes and the fragmentation of fields through divided inheritance have resulted, since the 1930s, in fields being too small to plough.

3. Numbering 85,463 persons in the 1961 Census.

4. During the past fifty years some hamlets have included the salt-giving ceremony in their sowing festival. This is convenient because it saves some time and expense on preparations; yet the two ceremonies remain quite distinct from one another.

5. Large groups of Badagas and Kotas used to go together to the market town of Gundlupet in southern Mysore, or to Karamadai, near Coimbatore. They carried hay, honey, opium, and clarified butter with them, and bartered these for salt, crude sugar, rice, coconut, tobacco, and trinkets.

6. Initially trade in the Ootacamund bazaar was handled through barter, but by about 1840 cash had become the general medium.

7. Called *'uppu kuk'ke*, "salt basket," this is made of cane by the Todas, stands about nine inches high (including the loop handle), and is smeared inside and out with cow dung.

8. The term *'kubbe* is used for six species of Leguminosae found at varying altitudes on the Nilgiri Hills. These are (1) the hill forest indigo; (2) the New Spain senna; (3) the tick trefoil; (4) the bell pea or Chinese pagoda tree; (5) *Dumasia villosa;* and (6) mountain downy senna.

9. Otherwise known as bastard mango or honeysweet tree.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

rational manipulation—imponderable factors like the will of God, for example—others are as close to the individual as the diseases that afflict his own body. It seems that all Badagas recognize six kinds of specialists as mediators between the individual and his cultural and biological environment. (Their importance is incidentally expressed in a proverb: "You should not stay in a village without a mediator [even till] noon.")

The first of these categories is the paramount chief (*na:ku beṭṭa gauda*) of all the Badagas, a man whose powers are now greatly diminished, but who in earlier times was ultimately responsible for mediating between the community and the outside world. This meant that he was obliged to intercede with and pay revenue to the Muslim overlords in the eighteenth century and the East India Company in the early nineteenth century. Since then he has continued to mediate between the Badagas and the Toda, Kota and Kurumba tribes on issues that concern the entire community.

Secondly, each hamlet headman (*gauda*), aided by a small council of elders, is responsible for mediating between the individual and the traditional laws and customs of the community. He is thus responsible for conformity and punishment in his hamlet.

Thirdly, the priest in each village, as everywhere else in India, is responsible for mediating between man and the gods. His ability to gain their attention and win their support is crucial for the fertility of crops and cattle, and hence for the well-being of the village community.

These three types of mediators are not primarily concerned with issues of health, except incidentally when a village has to be vacated during an epidemic. But the other three mediators are all health specialists. The midwife is concerned with the yet unborn. The therapist deals with problems of the living body (human or animal). The exorcist mediates between the community and the ghosts of the dead. Each is thus relied upon for mediation in a well-defined sphere, as Diagram 5 illustrates.

This "sphere of mediation" that separates the individual Badaga from the problems of everyday life differs in its economic dimension from comparable mediation in the Western world. We normally pay our doctor or dentist for his professional services when we feel we need them; the Badaga normally does *not* pay directly for any of these six types of mediator, and indeed it is by no means always the suffering individual who makes the decision to

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

182
793
759
791
643
648
622
623

Diagram 5: Spheres of Mediation

182 call in an appropriate mediator. As we shall see in the following section a token fee, travel expenses, or a small gift are the greatest
182 material rewards that most therapists would expect as a matter of course. The prestige that comes from serving their community is in
759 fact a more important consideration for all of the mediators; and when we recall that most therapists and all midwives are in fact women, it is understandable that they would not be practising out of a desire for material gain, since adult women are invariably married or widowed and thus are to be fully supported by their husbands or sons. In the words of the proverb, "If your lifetime is worth six [of something], taking care of [others'.] life is a hundred times more valuable." The therapists try their best, but their fellow villagers do not seem to expect miracles from them. It is
791 worth noting that Badagas credit only the male exorcists with some

CHAPTER II

THE BADAGAS IN NILGIRI SOCIETY

The Interdependence of Nilgiri Communities

Until about the year 1913 the Badagas were as intimately involved in the traditional system of economic and ritual interaction of the Nilgiris as were the other main participants, the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas. Throughout the whole of the 19th Century, from the first lengthy description of the Badagas (Keys 1812) until Father Tignous' account (1911), there seems to have been no essential change in the organization of this complex relationship; but after the First World War the Badagas tended to withdraw more and more from the obligations and privileges which had traditionally been theirs. What then were these obligations and privileges? How complex were they?

Each of the four groups was linked with each of the others through patrilineally inherited partnerships. The men involved in these supplied each other with traditional goods and services which supplemented their own economic production, and also symbolized their social interrelationship through ritual interaction.

Only the Badagas produced a real surplus of grains; Kotas and Kurumbas grew hardly enough crops for their own needs, and Todas grew nothing whatsoever. Thus the Badagas were obliged to dole out grain to Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas

• 648 at harvest-time. They were also to some extent the suppliers of cloth and salt
[439] for these three tribes. While the Badagas therefore played a major part in the economy of the other tribes, their role in the rituals of these groups was minimal.

439 Todas specialized in dairy produce: milk and ghee. These they provided
648 on occasion for Badagas, Kotas and Kurumbas. Todas were also able to supply various cane products to the Kotas and Badagas -- beds, flutes and certain kinds of baskets (Rivers 1906: 630-31; Emeneau 1938: 103).

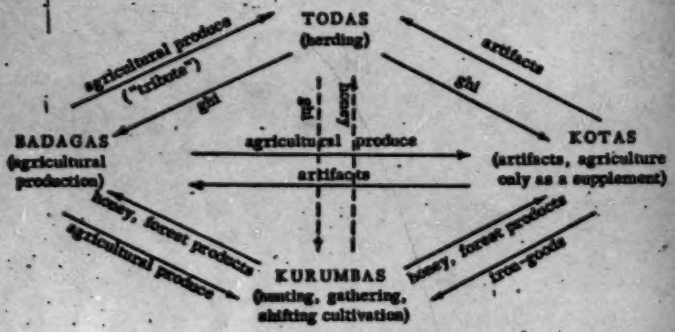
The Kotas possessed some buffaloes of their own and grew some grain too. But they made various types of artifact for the Badagas who gave them grain, and for the Todas who gave them ghee. The Kotas were the specialists in leather-work (especially rope-making) (Metz 1864: 132), carpentry, pottery, thatching, and ceremonial music (Harkness 1832: 78-79). Kotas traditionally provided the music at Toda and Badaga funerals, as well as at Badaga weddings and other festivities. Their participation in this role was an essential part of the ceremony (Ward 1821: lxxvii).

648 By comparison with the Kotas, the Toda and Kurumba tribesmen maintained relatively simple relationships with the Badagas. Most Kurumbas, indeed, were kept distant from the other inhabitants, because of their reputation for infallible sorcery (Harkness 1832: 84-85; Thurston 1912: 232-33). Only a few hundred Kurumbas (called Village Kurumbas or Watchmen) were esteemed by the Badagas and Kotas. These were Kurumbas appointed by an entire Badaga or Kota village to protect its members from the sorcery of other Kurumbas. The loyal Village Kurumba was rewarded for his duties with a dole of grain at harvest-time, with new cloth whenever he needed it, and in fact with anything else that he might wheedle out of his employers by supernatural threats or promises (Metz 1864: 116).

S: Hockings E-S (1962-1963) 1989
ANSO Badaga ANSO

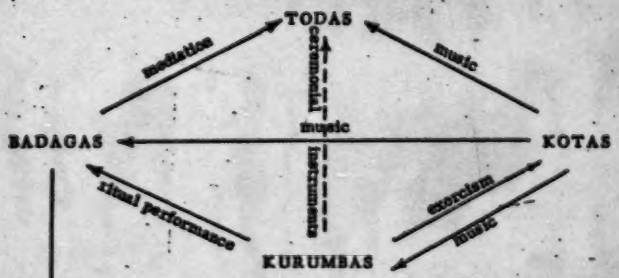
DIAGRAM I: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RELATIONS AMONG THE NILGIRI TRIBES

439
•648



ECONOMIC RELATIONS

(Translated from Zvelebil 1955: 243)



SOCIAL RELATIONS

(Translated from Zvelebil 1955: 244)

128 The economic and social relations between these four communities were summarized diagrammatically by Zvelebil in the (perhaps over-simplified) way shown on p. 22.

The Badagas: Tribe or Caste?

121 In the numerous publications about the Nilgiri peoples there have been certain fashions in writing. One of these fashions was, during the 19th Century, to call the Badagas a "tribe", but during the 20th Century to call them a "caste". As a matter of fact, the two words "tribe" and "caste" have been used so loosely in India that it is better for an ethnographer to avoid them if at all possible. Many cases of Indian social groups which are undoubtedly tribes or undoubtedly castes could be listed; but what of the numerous cases of groups which seem to be "caste-like" tribes or "tribe-like" castes? If we are really dealing with a continuum in social typology, the distinction between tribe and caste in the case of the Badagas will not be an important one.

Let us nevertheless explore this topic a little. What do we mean by a "society", first? A society is the largest segment of a population in which the people recognize themselves as inhabiting a definable territory, and as engaging in meaningful, patterned interaction. Normally the society will be marked off from others by having a distinctive name and very often a distinctive language as well. In view of this definition and the complexity of Badaga interaction with other 619 [121] Nilgiri peoples, it appears that the Badagas hardly constitute a distinct society by themselves. It is certainly true that there is a much higher per capita frequency or length of interaction taking place within the Badaga community (or within the Toda or the Kota community, for that matter) than across these community 648 boundaries. The social boundaries of each tribe are very recognizable disconti-

•648 nities. On the other hand, the interaction which does take place across these boundaries is rigidly patterned and is necessary for the continuance of the entire Nilgiri social system — or at least it was so until about 1913. Prior to that date the abandonment of the traditional relationships by any one of the Nilgiri tribes would have spelled economic disaster for the others. Where could the Todas go for their metal tools if not to the Kotas? Where could the Kotas get their cloth if not from their Badaga trade partners? Where could the Badagas look for protection against supernatural attack if not to their own sorcerer-watchman? It is true that material goods could be purchased in the town bazaar during the 19th Century; but this required cash, not a promise of a share in the harvest, and very few tribesmen possessed any cash.

121 The most meaningful interpretation to place on the complex situation in the Nilgiris is that all of the tribal groups there together make up a single society. Each tribe has its own part to play in the economy of the whole; each has a distinctive social status; but these two characteristics depend upon their recognition by the other tribal members of the social system.

648 There are, on the other hand, jungle-dwelling groups like the Ürälis, Irulas and Śolagas who are very isolated from the tribes of the plateau, but are equally isolated from the plains villages. Their infrequent contact with the people of either area is probably sufficient ground for considering them as a separate society, particularly as their economy has in the past been relatively self-sufficient. Certainly these people are at the farthest limits of Nilgiri society, which are geographically as hazy and yet as clear as social boundaries usually are in Asia.

121 There is nothing unusual in a single society being characterized by several

621 615 the houses of numerous recent settlers from the plains, most of them agricultural laborers. Nine other hamlets in Kotti "village" are exclusively Gauda; two are Wodeya; one is Haruva; three contain both Adikaris and Gaudas; and one, built in the last century, contains Protestant and Catholic Christians, not only Badagas but also Tamilian, Mysorean and Malayali Christians and even a few Toda ones.

Toda settlements are not included in such a village network. Many reasons • 648 for this can be advanced: this is a system controlled mainly by Badagas, whereas 000 few Todas live close to any Badaga settlements. Apart from that, the Todas have their own juridical system; they migrate back and forth across the plateau with their buffaloes; and in general Toda social organization is so different from that of Kotas and Badagas that it would have very little "fit" with a politico-juridical system that links Kota and Badaga farming communities. (I am told by Dr. Emeneau, however, that the Todas refer to juridical links between specific Toda clans and specific Badaga villages, when they tell of how they may call upon a Badaga headman to help adjudicate a Toda quarrel.) By contrast with the Toda settlements, 632 648 Kota ones are constituent hamlets of otherwise Badaga "villages" in most places; but in one case a Kota hamlet (Kol·mel) is the chief one, while the other five hamlets making up its "village" belong to various high-ranking Badaga sibs. This particular situation, explained by the Badagas as a "historical accident", is remarkable because it gives the Kotas a political advantage over several Badaga hamlets although all Badagas in that "village" still consider the Kotas there as socially lower.

At each level in this political organization there is a headman. Nearly 621 (622) every hamlet has one, although small hamlets sometimes remain without an incumbent for many years. Their councils meet, nevertheless, when a problem

621 arises. The headman of each chief hamlet is called "village headman", and is
632 responsible for all hamlets in his "village". In each of the four divisions the head-
631 man of one particular "village" is also divisional headman. In Todanad, further-
more, the headman of Tuneri hamlet and "village" -- a Badaga -- is not only divisional headman of Todanad as well, but in addition is "President" of the Nilgiris (i.e. Chief of all Badagas). Similarly, the headman of Balakola hamlet is not only headman of Merkunad division, but is also Vice-President of the Nilgiris. (The terms "president" and "vice-president" have been used here as loose translations of the complicated Badagu terms, and do not reflect any British influence on the local political organization.) For any judgment at the supreme level, both the President and the Vice-President have to take part in the council.

Except under unusual circumstances, including incompetence, these
(428) offices are hereditary at all levels, and are passed from father to eldest son. The
(627) village and divisional boundaries are all inflexible; although before the British land
(648) settlement (the authentication of land holdings, made during the 1880's), neighbor-
ing divisions occasionally staked the solution of a boundary dispute on the results of a tug-of-war between mixed teams of Badagas, Todas and Kotas from the two divisions involved.

Traditionally the headman has two kinds of duty to perform: he must take
622 charge of the organization of any festivals and public ceremonies in his hamlet or
632 village, and he must try to settle disputes. Let us consider each of these duties in turn.

Some of the annual festivals are celebrated separately in each hamlet, others are celebrated by a "village" as an entirety. In the first case a hamlet headman would be in charge, and in the second the "village" headman would be.

692 Ingam 1957). At each successive level in this process the headman will consider the decision of the previous lower-level hearings. Usually he will offer the same judgment, yet sometimes he may not only reverse the decision but also fine the headmen who have given a "wrong judgment". This right of the superior headmen is -- or, to be more accurate, was -- an important means of social control.

178 Until the end of the last century this system was functioning to the exclusion
626 of the official Indian legal system, for no Badaga would risk the punishment of
692 ostracism which could be expected for taking a case to a magistrate. A 19th Century Badaga proverb warned that, "If you take a complaint to a magistrate, it is as
681 if you had put poison in your adversary's food". During the decades that this was in common use, there was a rigid set of punishments merited by specific crimes; and this was said to have replaced an earlier system of lex talionis in pre-British
(682) days. The Badagas would hang a man whom they had themselves found guilty of
(688) murder (unless the British officials heard about the case in time); for certain other severe crimes, including conversion to Christianity, ostracism or banishment was meted out. Apart from these punishments there were various demeaning and unproductive tasks that an offender might be ordered to perform; or his head might be shaved; or one of the standard fines could be levied. Among the Badagas of the 19th Century the only fines were in cattle, household items, foodstuffs, and coin to the value of Rs. 1/4, 1/2, 1, 3, 6, 12, 24, and 48. No intermediate or higher sums were demanded at that time; but in the present century the rates have increased and once a fine of Rs. 5000 (about $1060 U.S.) was levied by a Badaga council in a very serious case. There are detailed regulations for the fixing and payment of fines.

•648 The relationship between the communities of the plateau was not solely

B
.618 economic in its nature. One important element in their interaction was their role in the settlement of each others' disputes, and especially in settling inter-community disputes. Each of the three plateau communities knows something about the judicial system of the other two; the Kurumba system, on the other hand, is not much understood by Todas, Kotas or Badagas.

T
627 The Todas have their own kind of council, called a noim, which consists of all adult males who come to take part in it. A noim can be formed "on the spur of the moment" to discuss some small dispute or disobedience that may have occurred just beforehand. In such a case only the men who happen to be on the spot will participate, regardless of what their clan or moiety affiliations may be. But for a bigger problem, be it a dispute or the organization of some ceremonial, a noim will be planned some days in advance so that news of it can spread to all

T
(618) interested individuals in every Toda settlement. It is very unusual for a Badaga to be a member of the noim. There is no indication today that the details about membership in the Toda noim given by Rivers have much validity:

> The naim of the general body of Todas should have five members, or, if more than five members, they should be drawn from five sources. Four of these sources are the Tarthar clans of Kars, Nodrs, and Taradr, and the Teivali clan of Kuudr. The fifth source is the Badaga village of Tuneri, from which a Badaga man may be sent to take part in the naim. He is only called upon to sit, however, on special occasions; and in the many councils which I saw during my visit a Badaga was rarely present. He probably only sits, as a rule, when questions arise which involve the relations between the Todas and Badagas. (Rivers 1906: 550)

B
618 Nowadays Todas can rarely recall an occasion when Badagas took formal part in a noim. They admit, however, that they used to invite the President and Vice-President of the Nilgiris -- who were of course Badagas, the former from Tuneri -- when important meetings were called to discuss Toda marriage disputes, temple affairs, big funerals, and disputes between Todas and Badagas. Rivers agrees

● 648 that the Nilgiri President, the headman of Tuneri village, sat on important noims (Rivers 1906: 633).

In a dispute between a Badaga and a Toda, Badaga participants in a noim must of course be expected. In such cases a council would be called, consisting of prominent Toda men, the headman of the Badaga's "village", and other respected Badaga elders, together with the exchange partner of the Toda involved in the case and some of his friends. If the Badaga were found guilty by this council, the fine would consist of a cloak or a female buffalo payable to the Toda. If the Toda were found guilty, he would have to pay the aggrieved Badaga a buffalo or a stipulated amount of baskets, cots or other cane manufactures. Intertribal murder supposedly merited the death sentence; although it is now difficult to see how this sentence might have been put into effect.

000 Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas call themselves "the three old brothers of the hills", and regard the Badagas (with historical justification) as newcomers to their land (Rivers 1906: 635). This attitude is reflected in the traditional system of settling intertribal disputes between Todas, Kurumbas and Kotas; for Badagas are typically not involved in this at all. A dispute between the Kotas and the Todas would be judged by Kurumbas; and similarly the Kotas would handle disputes between all the Todas and Kurumbas; and apparently a dispute between the Kotas and Kurumbas would be judged by a council of Todas -- although today no such case can be recalled.

648 If a Badaga were involved in a dispute with a Kurumba, a bi-tribal council would be the appropriate vehicle for settling it; or so the Badagas suppose, on the analogy of the process by which they settle disputes with Todas or Kotas. In practice, however, no personal disputes between a Badaga and a Kurumba have

• 648 been recorded; and there is no regular rate of fines to be levied from the guilty Badaga or Kurumba in such a dispute. This situation results from the fact that virtually all disputes between Badagas and Kurumbas involve Badaga accusations of Kurumba sorcery, accusations which are not likely to be met with equanimity or impartiality by either Badaga or Kurumba participants in a judicial council.

The traditional judicial council of the Kotas is close in form to the Badaga one: a village council convened by the Kota headman. There are no higher levels of the Kota council per se, because at the divisional or Nilgiri-wide levels the Kota villages "fit into" the Badaga system.

The organization of intertribal councils between Badagas and Kotas used to work very well, for it was essential that there should be no long-standing disputes between the two tribes. The presence of Kota musicians at Badaga funerals was (until 1928) felt to be obligatory, so that the threat of leaving a Badaga's obsequies uncompleted was itself enough to ensure the speedy settlement of current disputes. In any dispute between a Badaga and a Kota, the latter will still go to his Badaga partner in anticipation of his lending support to the Kota against the other Badaga; which is normally what happens.

648 692 Under some circumstances Badagas may help solve a purely Kota dispute, or Kotas may settle a purely Badaga one. If two Kotas, for example, are in dispute, each may look to his Badaga partner for support (Mandelbaum 1955: 241). This is a very useful move to make, for the Kotas realize that (in the traditional situation) if the case is not settled in the Kota village council, it is then likely to go to the higher Badaga "village" council or, in some cases, to a divisional council which would also be preponderantly Badaga in its make-up. The Kota with the stronger support from Badaga friends feels that he is more likely to win the case,

618 given these circumstances. The actual constitution of the judicial council at any
692 level, for Kotas as for Badagas, is very much a matter to be decided by plaintiff and defendant; certainly the headman must be a participant, but which of the other elders will take part is not necessarily fixed either by custom or by the headman. The counterpart of this situation is where two Badagas are involved in a dispute;
627 and each may then go to his Kota partner in expectation of winning his support. The Kota partners of the two men might afterwards discuss the matter between themselves and try to bring the two Badagas to a compromise. Alternatively, the two Kota partners may quarrel between themselves over the matter, in which case it is then taken before the Kota headman. At this point the Kota headman is very likely to summon the hamlet headman of the two Badaga disputants, as well as the disputants themselves, and a council would be held at a stipulated time in the Kota village. It is worth noting that when any council — whether Badaga or Kota — discusses a case, the final judgment, although effectively a consensus or at least a majority view, is actually made by the headmen in charge, on the basis of the various arguments he has heard. Thus when such a council is meeting in a Kota village to hear a Badaga case, the Badagas are bound to accept the Kota headman's judgment; for if they tried to evade it afterwards they could incur the anger of all Kotas and thereby jeopardize the community interrelationship.

618 If a Badaga disputing with a Kota is fined, it will not be in cash but in male buffaloes, which the Badaga himself must drive to the Kota (where they will be killed and eaten). If it is the Kota disputant who is fined, he must pay the Badagas a stipulated amount of metal goods, generally axes. In either case the guilty man gives the fine to the headman of the other disputant's village, and not to the disputant himself.

618 A special type of intertribal conflict used to arise if a Badaga failed to make the annual gift to his Kota partner. Should this happen and the Badaga later find himself in need of Kota music for a ceremony, he would probably receive from his partner a lame excuse for not being able to attend with the band. In such a situation the Badaga could then go to the Kota headman and explain how he was unable to give the Kota anything that year. This headman might then arrange with the partner to take the musicians to the Badaga's village, by getting a promise that the goods would be supplied at a later date.

627 618 In the traditional situation it was very common for minor disputes to be settled at ceremonies, especially funerals. Here again the Kotas might play a crucial role in settling purely Badaga quarrels. Thus, if a Kota headman or some other elder at a Badaga ceremony notices that one Badaga man is resolutely refusing to dance with the others, he may enquire about this and will often find that the man who will not dance is involved in a dispute with one of the men responsible for putting on the ceremony. In this situation the Kotas call together all the Badaga headmen or other responsible elders who are present and, after they have conducted an enquiry then and there, some solution may be reached. If the party in the wrong is fined, the fine will be divided between all headmen present, including those of the Kotas and the wrongdoer's village. The Kota can even undertake to stand surety for the man if he has no money with him -- as is often the case; and the Badaga will then receive instructions as to when he must deliver the fine to the Kota's village. In this case, the Kota will have to send out his own messengers carrying an equal portion of the fine to each of the headmen who helped solve the case.

If a dispute is clearly on too big a scale to be solved quickly during a ceremony, or if the quarrel arises during the ceremony and so cannot be solved easily

627 then because of hot tempers, the Kota headman can help the ceremonial proceed-
618 ings along by saying: "I'll take the case. Come to my village on such-and-such a day, and I'll settle the matter. Now dance and perform all the rituals."

000 Some illustrations of how the judicial system works will be offered when we discuss the changes that have taken place over the past 50 years. Further reference will also be made to disputes when we discuss the question of factions, and the influence of power on the judicial processes.

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AN50 Badaga AN50

454 tions.

The period between the two World Wars saw the rise not only of wealthy 178 Badaga land-owners, but also of labor contractors. A few men profited by getting (556) contracts to build roads or construct public buildings in the District. Two patterns (454) of reinvestment were common among such men: one was in land (Ranga 1934: 10), even in tea and coffee estates; the other was in college education for their sons. Less wealthy Badagas during the same period set themselves up as small shop-keepers or money-lenders, or hired themselves out as builders, carpenters, water-carriers and even coolies (Francis 1908: 129; Ranga 1934: 5).

For many Badagas with small land-holdings, this period of transition was 426 marked by the frustrations of indebtedness. Pieces of land were sometimes sold (178) to non-Badagas in order to pay off outstanding debts; but in general Badaga debtors tried to honor their obligations, and worked hard either to produce profitable cash crops or to buy back their former lands (Thurston 1909: I, 64; Ranga 1934: 4; Vive-kanandam Pillai 1937: 249).

We may say that the take-off for economic growth within the cash economy 178 was complete by 1930, when most of the Badagas had permanently severed their • 648 traditional exchange-relationship with the Kotas. This, from the Badaga point of (439) view, was an advantageous move, for it allowed them to buy pottery, ropes and metal goods in the bazaar at a lower price than the Kotas were getting. This is not to say that Kotas had been receiving cash; but the traditional dole of grain they were given at each harvest was becoming increasingly costly to the Badagas because of rising grain prices. We shall discuss this point further when we come to consider recent factions (see Chapters VII and VIII).

178 While tea and coffee yield the highest profit per acre, they require

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AWSO Badaga AWSO

CHAPTER VII

SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
(Continued)

The Position of the Badagas in Nilgiri Society Today

177 The traditional system of cultural interdependence linking the indigenous communities is a system so complex and yet so loosely organized in structure that it has changed to varying extents in different parts of the Nilgiris during this century. Some of the indigenous peoples, such as the Kotas, are much more eager than others to activate the traditional relationships; some, like the Badagas, are much more dependent than others on the cash economy. Why this should be so can not be explained by one uniform factor. The availability of a nearby labor market, close bus routes to town, the tribal residence patterns and the relative closeness of particular tribal settlements, are all important factors in determining the extent to which the Badagas of any one hamlet have dropped their traditional ties with the other indigenous groups.

184 Thus, to cite one example, the Badagas of the Kunda region (some 20 • 648 miles south of Ootacamund) tend to be more conservative in outlook than Badagas elsewhere, since it is mainly these Kunda Badagas who still normally invite a Kota band to play at their ceremonies, and who in other ways activate their ties with the nearby Kota village. Elsewhere in the Nilgiris the great majority of Badagas eschew 178 contact with Kotas because, while they recognize this contact as a traditional link, 648 they now consider it demeaning for them. A "modern" Badaga who wants to be

178 regarded as a fairly orthodox Śaivite would not want to be seen at a funeral where
•648 Kotas play dance-music beside the corpse: not only have the Kotas become "un-
touchable" musicians, but Hindu orthodoxy frowns upon the idea of dancing at a
(824) funeral. The attitudes of many Badagas toward Kotas -- as well as toward Todas
and Kurumbas -- have changed in recent years: our "modern" Badaga is now
thinking of himself, in the economic and religious spheres of his life, as more of
a Hindu citizen and less of a Nilgiri tribesman; and his social distance from Kotas
and Kurumbas has now been increased, since they fall into the status of Untouch-
ables, from his view-point. The new orientation seems appropriate to a Badaga
who finds himself competing for jobs or for official favors with people from all
184 over southern India. It is noteworthy that the "conservative" Badagas of the Kunda
area (cf. p. 111) are by far the wealthiest villagers in the District, for nearly all
of their land is given over to flourishing tea and coffee plantations. This contin-
uing source of wealth and employment is so certain that the people there do not
feel themselves in serious competition for work or for official favors with men
(648) from other parts of India. Their confidence in their future well-being allows
them to continue at least their ceremonial links with the Kotas. Few tools are
178 now made by the local Kotas, on the other hand, because these particular Kotas
648 are preoccupied with their own tea plantations, and the great quantity of specia-
lized metal items needed on a plantation has necessarily to be sought in the town
markets. In summary, both the Kotas and the Badagas in this part of the Nilgiris
activate their traditional relationship only so far as economic expediency permits:
where the market offers the same article at a lower price, or where one's labor
can be spent more profitably on plantation work than on some traditional obliga-
tion, the traditional link falls into abeyance.

178
648

Similar utilitarian adaptations to new possibilities opened up by an expanding cash economy are to be observed in nearly every aspect of the traditional relationships, not only between Badagas and Kotas, but between the other tribes as well. Todas -- to mention another case -- in many parts of the Nilgiris no longer take the trouble to make their annual rounds of the neighboring Badaga villages, for they know that so many Badagas will deny them their traditional dues that the material gains no longer make the journey worth-while. Badagas, for their part, never request the Todas to come and take their gifts, and now only rarely seek out a Toda friend if some particular article is really needed from him.

177
178
648

Stated in its most general terms, therefore, the situation in the Nilgiris is now such that the Badagas and the other indigenous groups are still cognizant of having been linked by a complex pattern of interdependence; yet now feel themselves under little compunction to maintain a relationship that is clearly becoming less feasible economically. Today the Badagas are taking the lead in finding and internalizing new cultural orientations, orientations which help them to secure a place in the economy and society of the entire Indian nation, though at the expense of their traditional place in Nilgiri life. To put this in another way, we can state that many Badagas now maintain a positive orientation to urban Tamilian culture (particularly as its values are reflected in films), while many Kotas and Kurumbas, and even a few Todas, now treat the Badaga farmers as their positive reference group. The new urban orientation of the Badagas is one that places a positive value on the products of modern technology, the seeking of monetary profit, good education, and in general on behavior that they think would be acceptable in an urban context.

The Present "Ambi-legal" System in Badaga Villages

692 It will be recalled that in an earlier chapter which described the traditional social organization of the Badagas we spoke of a politico-juridical system which linked the Badagas closely to the Kotas, and provided for the settlement of disputes by a hierarchy of local councils (pp. 29-43). Today, while this system still remains in operation for "civil" cases, it is very common for Badagas also to make use of the official legal system of India in the settlement of disputes and [829] the punishment of crimes. Since the use of both systems is not seen by the villager as a clear matter of choice, but rather of trying to play one system off against the other so as to maximize his own advantages, we might characterize the present Badaga situation as being an "ambi-legal" one. Let us take as our point of departure for an analysis of this phenomenon the changing role of the Badaga headmen.

175 692 ●(618) To understand the role of the village headman in local government one needs to know that after the British arrived in the Nilgiris (in 1820) they perpetuated village government through the previously existing hereditary headmen, and bestowed upon these men the title of _manegar_. The _hierarchy_ of these headmen did not come into the British plan for local government, however: _manegars_ were typically "village", and not hamlet or divisional headmen. From the end of the 632 [622] last century the headman role has been divided up: a _manegar_ was appointed in major villages -- generally the chief hamlet of an indigenous "village" grouping -- by the British District Collector (Grigg 1880: 366); but the Badagas still selected their own hamlet headman (who then received the title of _sub-manegar_ and continued to receive a small salary from the British administration). The _manegar_ appointed was preferably a literate man rather than simply a prestigeful one; though

788 tour of the singers, the women clean out the houses, place auspicious markings
[356] outside the doorways, and leave the doors open with a lamp burning inside until the
(776) bhajan group has passed by. Many hamlets have adopted this practice. They conclude the unlucky month by holding a big communal feast attended by the entire hamlet.

In summary, whether we consider the organization of Kārtige, Mārgaṭi, Dipāvali or Dassara, we find that the borrowed festival is not celebrated by the entire Badaga population, there is some local variation in the way in which it is celebrated, those who do celebrate the festival still show much less enthusiasm for it than for native Badaga festivals; and finally, Badagas show much less enthusiasm for these festivals than do the Tamilians and Mysoreans now living in the Nilgiris.

177 184 796

796 [564] 4) Since 1913 important developments have occurred in the Badaga Christian community. From the earliest years of the present century, according to the missionary reports, the Christian community has been recognized by the Badagas as a distinct caste inferior to Hindu Badagas but superior to Kotas, and rigid patterns for interaction between the Christians and Hindus have been formalized. During the period 1913-1947 the Hindu Badagas, like the Christians before them, became increasingly dependent on the economy and the labor market which was ultimately controlled by the British. As a result of this the former acts of violence toward Badaga Christians ceased; as many Hindu Badagas now found it desirable to maintain outwardly friendly attitudes towards the British, they could not simultaneously be openly antagonistic toward the religion of the British.

177 •648 798

After the Christians had become a separate social group, Roman Catholic priests became active -- mainly in converting Protestant Badagas -- and thereby split the Christians into two culturally very similar but structurally opposed groups, each maintaining a self-righteous and antagonistic attitude not only toward the other

186 578 797 798

S: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AN50 Badaga AN50

The New Factions

578 In the year 1913 there may have been a number of intra-village or intra-hamlet factions of which no record remains; family feuds were undoubtedly common; but there were only two factional disputes of Nilgiri-wide scope -- the one separating Hindus from Christians, and the one about the relative superiority of Wodeyas and Haruvas. During the present century these two divisions have remained, but others have been added to them.

578 615 764 The Wodeya/Haruva dispute was intensified by another conflict: in 1928 the rift between these two factions was deepened by a further dispute that quickly assumed all-Nilgiri proportions (Benbow 1928: 11, 13). This one concerned the question of whether it was a dignified practice to dance around a corpse to Kota music during a Badaga funeral. The new dispute showed exactly the same division of support as in the preceding dispute: those who supported the Haruva claim to superiority wanted to continue the use of Kota music at funerals; those opposed to the Haruva faction were equally opposed to the Kota-music faction. This new-found opposition for what had always been regarded as an essential element in the funeral ceremony arose indirectly from the impact of Tamilian culture and a major change in the cultural orientations of Badagas: they now felt that it was an indignity to the corpse to dance around it in the village, since dancing was now held (by the majority faction) to be an expression of joy that would clearly be inappropriate in this situation. Those who wanted to continue the dancing -- a conservative minority -- stressed that it was an integral and time-honored element in Badaga culture, and to discontinue it would be to dishonor and jeopardize the deceased by performing an incomplete funeral. Most Badagas today no longer invite Kotas to play either at funerals or at weddings and festivals, and most of their other traditional economic connections with the Kotas

(177) (184)

178 648

178 have also disappeared (Emeneau 1938: 104-05). The Badagas are attempting to in-
648 crease the social distance between themselves and their more backward and polluting Kota neighbors (Mandelbaum 1960: 302-03).

Another factional dispute, which lasted for nearly a quarter century prior to
665 independence, was a political one: political behavior in that period took the form of a factional division. Although many hamlets were not concerned with political questions at all, the more informed ones -- with higher literacy and closer links to the towns or missions -- tended to align themselves either with the Indian National Congress and the independence movement, or with the Justice Party and a reliance on the British admi-
(578) nistration of India. At the most violent phase of this faction's history, from Gandhi's salt satyagraha in 1930 to the outbreak of war in 1939, most of the Badaga hamlets were involved in the dispute, and the two factions would not eat or speak together, would sometimes have separate hamlet headmen and celebrate festivals separately, would forbid intermarriage across the cleavage, and would give vent to occasional outbreaks of violent fighting.

We have already seen how the dispute over the use of Kota music reinforced
578 an existing factional division over the status of Haruvas. The political dispute we
615 have just described was in practice yet another facet of the dispute over Haruva
665 superiority: the people who supported the Haruva claim were the same people who supported the Indian National Congress. The reason for this is not difficult to see: in Madras Presidency the Justice Party was an anti-Brahmin party; its support depended strongly on the apparent preponderance of Brahmins in the Congress, and on the comparative ease with which the Brahmin minority was getting government employment (to the envy of most non-Brahmins). The great majority of people in the Presidency were not Brahmins, and looked upon Brahmins as incursors from North

177 178 (242) the traditional ox-drawn plow (Ranga 1934: 11); and as a result of these technological changes Badagas had to develop new kinds of laboring patterns, involving contractors and non-Badaga workers. A whole nexus of new social relationships emerged: foodstuffs had to be bought in shops, cash had to be borrowed wherever it might be had, agents and middlemen had to be sought out and dealt with, lowland laborers had to be employed, European planters and government farming advisers had to be consulted, educated opinion had to be sought out.

178 •648 (241) In the early years of this century a new way of life was being developed by the Badaga farmers. It was a way of life in which they could readily perceive that certain elements from the traditional culture were no longer practicable. The close and important tie with the Kotas was a case in point: Badagas often did not grow the millet crops they were customarily expected to give to the Kotas, and the rising grain prices led to a situation where traditional Kota products could be obtained much more cheaply by purchase in a bazaar. Finally, around the year 1928, relations with the Kotas were formally broken off by a majority of Badagas.

178 (550) (177) The initial change in agricultural practices led to other kinds of sociocultural change, too. These stemmed primarily from the fact that the Badagas were successful in their new ventures, and as a consequence were making cash profits on a scale never previously possible. New avenues for spending opened up, and new consumer goods appeared in the Badaga hamlets. Those who could find more land to buy did so: this is a familiar theme among the nouveaurriches of rural India (cf. Epstein 1962: 85 ff.). But not very much land has changed hands in this century, and few new areas have been opened up for farming recently. Profits have therefore necessarily been invested in other ways: large new houses have been built, watches, radios and other consumer goods have been brought into the

(454) (554)

The closer cultural ties with the plains, that are reflected in the adoption
177 of the dowry custom, are strongly evidenced also in recent religious changes. The
178 Lingayats have developed closer ties with their gurus and maths (or monasteries) — the organized "church" of Vīraśaivism — in Mysore State. Many Badagas have begun to observe ceremonies, such as Dīpāvali, which until 30 or 40 years ago were associated only with Tamilians and Kanarese. Today most Badaga villages have regular devotional evenings at which bhajans are sung (in Tamil) and Kriśna is worshipped. Another development, unrelated to these, has been the appearance of a Roman Catholic community among the Christians.

Finally in this summary we must take note of the new factions that have
178 emerged since the early years of this century. Most important was the deepening
578 of the cleavage between those supporting Wodeya superiority and those who suppor-
615 ted the Haruva claim: this occurred in about 1928 when the former faction threw off
(648) its traditional ties with the Kotas, ostensibly because they did not want Kota music performed at funerals, while the smaller pro-Haruva faction has continued its relationship with the Kotas insofar as this is still economically feasible.

The only other factional division that has assumed Nilgiri-wide proportions
665 was one that lasted for a quarter-century prior to Independence, and which separa-
ted Justice Party supporters from National Congress supporters. All other conflicts
578 have been relevant only to certain sections of the Badaga community. One divided the Lingayats into two factions, those approving marriages with Kanarese Lingayats and those opposed to the practice. Another cleavage split the Protestant Christians, over the question of whether a priest should wear shoes in the church. Christians were also involved in an unusual three-way dispute in one hamlet, where converts from the Gauda, the Beda and the Kumbara phratry each claimed higher social

121 sification of the rural economy. This was especially true in those villages where much of the land had to remain "dry" because it could not be reached by the irrigation system. The change to a cash crop integrated what had been relatively isolated villages into the regional economy; previously they had been more economically self-sufficient. The increased range of economic relations, Epstein claims (1962: 315), was associated with a diminution of traditional economic ties within one village: farmers thought it expedient to save capital by ceasing to give customary dues to their clients. This was not simply a matter of withholding what the clients were entitled to, however, for it released them from traditional obligations and allowed them to seek better employment in the regional economy. Of the two villages studied by Epstein, the irrigated one changed its internal economic relations less than the "dry" village did. Irrigation boosted production without very much altering the traditional economic differentiation that separated farmers and their clients. By comparison, the "dry" village was obliged to diversify its economy much more, and as a result its integration with the regional economy went much further; economic relationships within that village were altered very radically.

433 621 [121] Diversification of the economy has also occurred in Badaga hamlets during the last few decades. Indeed, the most affluent and tension-free hamlets today are the ones with the most diversified economies: tea, coffee, market vegetables, eucalyptus oil and poultry are all produced in certain hamlets, and ensure a steady income there even if one or two of the items are ruined by disease or weather in any particular year. At the same time we note that in the Nilgiris the economically more "progressive" Badagas (a great majority of the community) have severed all or most of their ties with Kotas, Todas and Kurumbas, just as the more "progressive" farmers near Mandya have severed ties with their traditional clients and

121 178 184 648

121 specialists. The Nilgiri tea and coffee growers have become integrated into the
178 South Indian cash economy at the expense of such traditional relationships.
184
618

The trend toward diversification of the economy in the "dry" village which Epstein studied, and toward its greater integration with the regional economy, was
121 accompanied by changes of a political nature. Some villagers began to take part in political meetings in the town, and to elect their panchayats rather than accept hereditary incumbents. The change was not paralleled in the irrigated village which Epstein studied, however: there the traditional hereditary panchayats remained in operation, and there was relatively little concern with state political movements. The elected panchayat of the "dry" village does not settle disputes now: these are generally taken to court in Mandya. The traditional panchayat does settle disputes in the irrigated village, however.

632 Among Badagas, as we have seen, there are now elected panchayats which act as the organs of local government in providing basic rural facilities. The traditional panchayats are more influential in the control of behavior and the organization of festivities, however. Membership of the latter is sometimes hereditary and sometimes "selected"; often a single council has members designated by both pro-
692 cesses. The magistrate's court is now widely used in settling disputes; but at the same time the traditional council still has an important part to play in this activity.

121 Factions are not rigidly opposed in the irrigated village that Epstein studied. She regards them as "a mechanism whereby economic status may be translated into political influence" (1962: 320). As such they have changed little in their significance since the days before irrigation was available. In the "dry" village, on the other hand, factions "display the basic cleavage between innovators and conservatives" (Epstein 1962: 320). In summary, "Economic change in [the "dry"

121 village] was followed by political change, whereas the persistence of [the irrigated village's] economic structure was responsible for the persistence of its political structure" (Epstein 1962: 320).

121 578 Factional organization has a different character in the villages of the Badagas, which are unlike those of the Mandya region in not being multi-caste. The economic differential has not been an important one between Badaga factions. Perhaps the only point of close similarity between the factions of the Badagas and of the Mandya area is that some Badaga factions do reflect a cleavage between innovators and conservatives.

121 178 (648) In the Kanarese villages ritual relationships between peasant farmers and their clients have been attenuated and in some cases dropped. This parallels the situation in the Nilgiris, where many Badagas have dropped their ritual ties with the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas. Other kinds of ritual change are not paralleled in the two areas, though: the Badagas have adopted a number of ritual observances from the Tamilians, whereas the Kanarese in the Mandya villages, although in contact with Tamilian immigrants, are not reported to have adopted any. Possibly the Tamilians living near Mandya are Untouchables; in the Nilgiris they are often Śudras or Brahmins, and as such their rituals command more respect.

121 Epstein argues (1962: 322) that the change from a subsistence to a cash economy led to the break-down of the joint family unit in the Mandya area. Fathers are now partitioning their land and giving portions for their adult sons to cultivate. The young men feel much more independence when their work is not under the control of a father or an elder brother. The situation has its parallels among the Badagas, and especially in those families where one or two sons work in the factory, the office, or in urban professions. In many instances the most successfully

121 at Berhampur. Locks come from Aligarh..." (Bailey 1958: 229). The list contin-
(178) ues; and it is one we might as readily draw up for any Badaga hamlet. Both in the Kondmals and in the Nilgiris agriculturists now purchase goods which previously would have been made locally, or otherwise would not have been known. Both communities were "self-contained in the sense that all goods and services...could be supplied from the locality, by barter and not by money..." (Bailey 1958: 230). Bailey speaks of a "traders' frontier" as the process by which the cash economy first
(177) reached the Oriya villages. The concept is equally applicable to the Badaga hamlets, although they were able to develop contacts with local towns and factories, whereas neither town nor factory existed in the Kondmal Hills. As government and trade pushed up into the Kondmals in the mid-19th Century, Oriya villages lay along the lines of communication, and Bisipara became a local center of administration. Oriyas thus became an important link between the Kond tribesmen and the agents of government and trade, especially as it was the Oriyas who spoke the language of
(177) the plains whence the traders had come. Badagas probably fulfilled a similar role
(648) in mediation between the British and the tribal peoples; but for them it was never an important or continuing role.

Beyond this point the parallel between the Nilgiris and the Kondmals is not so close. Today the Oriyas are still concerned largely with the subsistence crop of rice. Konds divide their labor between the rice-fields and the turmeric plots which they cultivate for cash. Changes have come to the Konds because they are involved in the cash economy; but their situation is different from that of the Badagas. Turmeric, like tea or potatoes, needs an altogether new agricultural technique. The Konds succeeded in learning this; but they did not become affluent to the degree that the Badagas have become: the returns from turmeric are too small.

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AN50 Badaga AN50

for the same sample 22.4% were members of various types of joint family, and another 2.1% were in polygamous families. The joint family, be it noted, is the traditional and "ideal" type, but in all likelihood it has never been the only pattern. The sharing of differential profits is only a part of the problem that confronts a contemporary Badaga joint household where some adult members have high earning-power and other adults low. More important is the conflict of values, the difference between traditional Badaga attitudes and "modern", urban attitudes, that now separates parents from their more educated adult sons. The new occupations which have been taken up, primarily by the younger men, are thus related to distinct changes in Badaga family organization, as the Badagas themselves can readily explain.

(3) A third main regularity in economic change is that the introduction of cash crops and the use of money tend to break down the traditional cooperative work patterns in a rural economy like that of the Badagas. The phenomenon has been documented in many different parts of the world (cf. Foster 1962: 34-35), and was noted by Epstein in the "dry" village of southern Mysore. We have already taken notice of this point above (pp. 134-35): the Badagas have dropped their former ties with Kotas and other associates, as a part of their adaptation to conditions in the cash economy. But what have the Kotas done in response? As Badaga farmers now need hired labor, it might be expected that Kotas would have hired themselves out for cash; but this has not been the case. Kotas own sufficient land to grow most of their food requirements; indeed, they were never entirely dependent on grain given them by the Badagas. Some Kota craftsmen have modified the traditional relationship with Badagas to a point where they still deal with the Badaga hamlets that they have always been associated with, but now services must immediately be paid for in cash. Badagas no longer grow the millets that they used to give to the Kotas;

178 •648 their food grain is now purchased paddy rice. If the Badagas were to give this to Kotas, much additional work would be involved now: the Badaga would have to get the grain from the town bazaar to his hamlet, and then the Kota would have to carry it from there to his hamlet. This fact, coupled with the greatly increased monetary value of the traditional doles of grain, prompted the switch to cash dealings between Kotas and those Badagas who still accept their products and services (Mandelbaum 1955: 240). The Kotas, like their Badaga neighbors, have now made the transition to a cash economy; and those who are able to do so are planting potato or tea crops. Many Kotas today are not interested in keeping up these traditional economic ties with Badagas when they can be making much greater profit by devoting their time and energies to tea or potatoes. A sample of 34 male Kotas from six villages all recorded cultivation as their occupation. Several of this sample also worked as blacksmiths, toy-makers, potters or carpenters. It is clear that the Kotas have recently been able to "do without" their former economic ties with the Badagas. The factional dispute which, 35 years ago, separated a majority of the Badagas from their Kota exchange-partners, signalled the conclusive adaptation of both communities to the monetary economy.

121 (4) Factionalism is important in economic change, it would seem. The fourth regularity to be discussed in this conclusion is that rapid acculturation often leads to heightened village factionalism. J. B. Adams has described the effect of the social changes triggered by Neguib and Nasser on a particular Egyptian village: two factions emerged, one supporting the revolution and the other seeking to maintain the traditional values of the fellahin (Adams 1957: 228). This example parallels a widespread dispute among Badagas.

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55

B Ko 463 B [77]

basket makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, hide curers, potters, and musicians. Badagas worked as laborers when Englishmen started living on the Nilgiris, but have increasingly obtained clerical and professional employment. Badagas and Kotas use seasonal livestock centers to graze herds of buffaloes and cattle on the temperate grasslands. The Badagas have established a sacred buffalo herd and dairy-temple at Bergani (Figure 1). Through the cooperation of employed Kasuvas, they also manage to keep buffaloes and cattle in the Mysore Ditch (Figure 2).

B Ko 231 [648]

Excluding some Badagas dwelling in dispersed houses, Badagas and Kotas in the Nilgiri Wynaad occupy hamlets. Both depend upon rice grown in wet fields. There are assorted gardens near their houses, and the Badagas grow millets on upland dry fields. As on the upper Nilgiris, Kotas are differentiated from the Badagas by their trades. Some Badagas labor on nearby plantations.

B Ko 184 241 361 B [64]

2. The Philosophic Base

B 121

The premise. The interpretive approach employed in following chapters is based on the premise that members of a small culture who occupy a similar environment will repeatedly adjust and utilize the landscape in a set pattern, or in set patterns, conforming to their needs and technological capacities. Because the members are conformists, they build similar occupance forms, arrange the forms in the same fashion, and use the landscape about their dwellings according to the economy related to their culture. Adjustments to environments by members of many small cultures, therefore, result in typically

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Toda AW60

B 171 prosperity. Badagas also turned to horizontal transhumance motivated by seasonal variations in rainfall. Their temporarily used western livestock centers are called hundis. In the Mysore Ditch, north of the Nilgiri massif (Figures 1 and 2), the Badagas found another B 231 exploitable niche. Badaga livestock kept there all year are cared [361] for by Kasuvas. Livestock centers with house types occupied by [648] Kasuvas are related to the symbiotic Badaga-Kasuva relationship. Although agricultural Kotas may have inhabited the upper Nilgiris Ko 231 for over a millennium, only a few residents from Kirgoj graze buffaloes out of temporarily inhabited livestock centers on the temperate grasslands.

B 121 128 The following steps guide narration in this and later chapters: Generalized outlines of occupance patterns (equated with varying ways in which men have occupied landscapes) are followed by data relating to distinctive dwellings and sacred structures (occupance forms) labeled types. Discussion then shifts to economic activities altering landscapes around occupance sites to the greatest degree. Other economic activities altering landscapes to either a lesser or negligible degree are then discussed. Discourse turns to trades and services generated by members of the group under consideration and leading to economic intercourse with outsiders. Lastly, employment in economies generated by outsiders is considered. If a step is not applicable, it is omitted. In the case of Badaga, Badaga-Kasuva, and Kota occupance patterns described in this chapter, narration does not move beyond economic activities altering landscapes to a marked degree.

Because Nilgiri pastoralists have played such a vital role in

433 *(648) employing Kasuvas and exploiting the grazing potentials offered by tropical savanna woodlands, bamboo thickets, thorny thickets, and related savannas of the Mysore Ditch.

234 778 (776) (782) (346) The Bargani dairy-temple center. A sacred buffalo herd is maintained at the Bargani dairy-temple center honoring the goddess Maathi Mathai. At the center there is a building with an inner dairy-temple, priest's quarters, and rooms to shelter buffalo calves (Plate III, A). Several buffalo-pens stand close by. Down slope there is another building where pilgrims may sleep. Inside it is a sacred

778 (782) (793) (788) room where an employed Chetti annually weaves new clothing for the goddess's image and the attendant priest. Food for hundreds of pilgrims who attend an annual festival is cooked in a nearby shed with aligned fireplaces.

234 778 (431) (648) Features inside the dairy-temple are identically related to the arrangement of features within Badaga row temples described in a later chapter. The dairy-temple center and a herd of over 70 buffaloes are supported through monetary gifts and buffaloes donated by devotees. Todas sometimes give buffaloes. Most gift buffaloes are garlanded and presented to the priest during a week preceding the festival honoring the goddess. The young priest, who may serve for a year or more, looks

234 778 793 after the sacred buffaloes and processes their milk inside the dairy-temple. He never returns to secular life during his term in office, and must give up the priesthood on Maathi Mathai's Monday if he starts dreaming about girls or wishes to get married. The youth milks sacred buffaloes in the morning and evening, takes buffaloes to and from

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Toda AW60

T 174 T 136 Todas had apparently stopped hunting game by historic times. If they were part-time hunters when first arriving on the upper Nilgiris, they would have found game in abundance. Among the game animals are two deer, muntjac (Muntiacus muntjak Zimm.), sambar (Rusa unicolor Kerr.), and a wild goat, the Nilgiri tahr (Hemitragus hylocrius Blyth). Gaurs (Bibos gaurus H. Smith) from lower Nilgiri slopes and adjacent lowlands once periodically ascended to higher elevations, but no longer do so.[8]

T 175 294 294 797 434 439 T 463 [797 T 434 457 Harkness (1832: 15) observed Toda women stitching edges of cloths to be used for clothing, so needlework among the women is not something taught them by missionaries. However, missionaries have done much to encourage embroidery among the women. The Church of South India, Ootacamund, provides cloth and thread to Toda women, who receive a portion of the proceeds from embroidered cloth sales. The Madras Government has also established stores to sell products made by Todas and other tribals. Some Todas have become salaried employees performing such tasks as gardening or forest watching. One is an educated evangelist working for the Seventh Day Adventist Mission in Coonoor, and another is a nurse trained in England. An income source for a few Toda families is the money paid by tourists visiting the more accessible hamlets.

2. Badaga and Kasuva Pastoralists

B 361 B 433 (648) By taking advantage of temperate grasslands, Badagas were able to establish a dairy-temple center at Bergani and elsewhere practice transhumance like the Todas. They have also made economic gains by

6: Noble Kn4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

Ka 234 Ka 342 Ka (354) Ka (234) (513) Ka (234)

more (Plate III, E). Large ovoid pens are typical; one measuring 110 feet by 80 feet was observed. Dwellings built next to pens are often of a side-gabled type with thatched roof. Their walls are of stone and clay, woven bamboo, or woven bamboo and daub (Figure 13). A central section opened to the front has a shallow platform and occasionally a fireplace. Herders use this section to churn milk or produce clarified butter. They sleep on the platform in hot weather, and sometimes sit there close to a fire while observing elephants at night. To one side of the central section there is a sleeping room and to the other a calf room, but additional calf rooms may be built into the dwelling at either or both ends. Kasuvas also live in dwellings varying from the one generally associated with livestock centers. A small, front-gabled dwelling forms a distinct type (Figure 13). This has a steep-sided thatched roof, and half the structure usually lacks walls (Plate III, F). The remaining half with woven bamboo or woven bamboo and daub walls has a fireplace set into a low platform located next to two walls.

B 234 • 648 Ka 463 648 592 B Ka 648 B (234) Ka (465)

Buffaloes and cattle are herded by Kasuvas working for Badagas, but at periodic intervals Badaga masters from the upper Nilgiris tend to spend some time with their livestock. Badaga wives and children do not come down, but entire Kasuva families live in the livestock centers. Badagas pay Kasuvas for their services with cash and in kind. One interviewed Kasuva family received six rupees per week plus Badaga-grown grain and vegetables, while another family received ten rupees per week plus Badaga agricultural products. Furthermore, frequent issues of rice and yearly issues of clothing are given. On a

B Ka 648 special occasion such as marriage, gifts are usually bestowed.

Unlike the upper Nilgiri hun'in, livestock centers in the Mysore Ditch are used all year. Before livestock may be herded, a general permit costing three rupees and a charge of 25 nayapice per buffalo or cattle head must be paid annually to the Forest Department in Ootacamund. Comparatively large herds are kept. At one livestock center in 1963 there were ten buffaloes and 150 cattle, while 40 buffaloes and 140 cattle were kept at another. Excess of cattle over buffaloes may perhaps be explained by the fact that the Mysore Ditch is a rather dry region. The livestock centers are used for breeding, and grass near them provides alternate grazing for Badaga livestock. Frequent livestock movements between the upper Nilgiris and Mysore Ditch thus takes place. Dry cows are taken down, and good milk yielders are brought back up. When grazing is poor on the upper Nilgiris, but better in the virtually uninhabited Mysore Ditch, livestock will be sent down in larger numbers. There are always some milk yielders in the Mysore Ditch livestock centers, so dairying is a necessary activity. Milk and buttermilk may be consumed by Kasuva caretakers. Clarified butter carried up by Badagas or Kasuvas is either sold or consumed by Badagas.

Ka 234 (656)

B (234)

Ka (262) (439)

3. The Kotas

Ko 311 Kotas have taken advantage of the temperate grasslands to only a limited degree.

likely to be a tall stone shaft called a mahalinga, which is another emblem of Lord Shiva. Near or within the inner sanctuary, and adjacent to the mahalinga, there may be carved stone bulls (Nanthis) representing Lord Shiva's vehicle.

Thoraiyas and Badagas. Harkness (1832: 109) stated that the Thoraiyas, "a lower class of people who had principally gained their livelihood by weaving a kind of sackcloth," came to the Nilgiris after the first Badagas. When Harkness traveled over the upper Nilgiris he apparently noticed a few Thoraiya families residing in hamlets where Badagas or other caste people dwelt, but he also mentioned a Thoraiya hamlet. The Thoraiyas, who were generally the poorest inhabitants, used the distaff and spinning wheel (Harkness 1832: 112). Thus, they probably continued to weave cloth.

Thoraiyas presently inhabit a few of their own hamlets, but many live in hamlets or villages occupied by Badagas and other caste people. Because of their lower caste standing, they are separated from higher caste members by space, a wall, or both (Figure 17). Their houses are similar to Badaga houses, but proportionately more Thoraiyas live in half-houses (Figure 18). Thoraiya temples are also like Badaga temples. Some Thoraiyas cultivate their own land, but others earn all their income by laboring for others. Because of the abundance of mass-produced cloth, they no longer weave cloth.

In all likelihood Thoraiyas labored for the Badagas from a long time prior to Harkness' visit. Traditional relationships between Badaga master families and Thoraiya servant families cause some

•618 Thoraiyas to virtually remain serfs, despite outside job opportunities. Female and male Thoraiyas continue to work on Badaga landholdings and serve in Badaga homes. Thoraiya males trained, for example, to be barbers, blacksmiths, brickmakers, carpenters, or washermen, have further served the Badagas. For their services, Thoraiyas are paid in cash and in kind. At periodic intervals and upon special occasions, such as Thoraiya weddings, presents are imparted by Badaga masters.

175 241 Plants exploited by the Badagas. A representative list of plants grown by the Badagas in the early 1800s is obtained from the writings of Keys and Harkness (Table III). Millet species were apparently the main subsistence cereals, but it is worth noting that barley and wheat were also raised. Plants grown commercially at that time were fenugreek (Trigonella foenum-graecum L.), garlic, mustard, and poppies (Harkness 1832: 138). Poppy juice, the source of salable opium, was extracted by women and children. Iron nails were used to scratch poppy capsules in the evenings, and gummy exudations were collected on following mornings. Capsules thus scratched every four days eventually died. Opium slowly obtained in this fashion was eaten and not smoked. Seeds collected from dead capsules were sold after sun-drying, and by boiling remaining capsule shells in water a stupefying beverage was obtained (Francis 1908: 290-291; Metz 1864: 153; Ward 1821: lxiii). According to Metz (1864: 153), fenugreek was sold to low country merchants; men from Coimbatore bought large quantities of garlic and onions, which were carried down to the plains on bullocks; and mustard seed sale alone was said by the Badagas

175 249

175 276

439 (651)

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 331

of construction. Families were given clothing annually. Each week Paniyas received small monetary amounts which enabled them to purchase condiments or other articles in the local market. Betel leaves, areca nuts, and other chewing ingredients were issued weekly. On festival days Paniyas were feasted and given sweetmeats (Ranga 1934: 55-59).

Master-serf relationships still persist in the Nilgiri Wynaad. Not all Badagas have Paniyas working for them, but when such a relationship exists Paniya females and males perform many of the agricultural tasks. The women also prepare grain with mortar, pestle, and winnower, and carry water to Badaga houses. Using split bamboos, Paniyas make any type of basket that is required. These people live in houses built somewhat like Badaga houses. However, their houses have smaller dimensions, usually one door, and walls built of woven bamboos frequently covered with daub (Figure 23). The houses are arranged haphazardly in a nucleated community or are dispersed over hills. They are normally not far from Badaga dwellings. Paniyas have their own burial centers and worship centers with shrines.

In addition to receiving food allocated by their masters, Paniyas obtain produce from garden plants grown near their dwellings. They fish with aid of bamboo mats, bamboo fishing scoops, and fish poison (crushed Randia dumetorum Lamk. fruit). Most fish are caught during the harvesting period and in the ensuing dry season. Fishing is then facilitated by the concentration of fish in small water bodies left after the evaporation of moisture from fields, ponds, and streams. An occasional food source for Badagas, Paniyas, and other Nilgiri Wynaad residents are the many bamboo seeds, called bamboo rice, which

7: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1987
AW50 Badaga AW50

· 37 · *The Man Named Unige Mada (Nilgiri Hills, Tamilnadu)*

539 This next tale preserves some of the oral storytelling style of a folk bard and thus has a special grammatical flavor worthy of note. It comes from the Nilgiri Hills and was told by a Badaga. • 648 These people represent one of several important communities who have long resided in this anthropologically well-known district of Tamilnadu. These, plus a few other groups, together form a relatively isolated caste-like system. However, this whole population is so small and distinctive that it is generally called tribal. The Todu group stands at the top of this hierarchy and are the priests and buffalo keepers. Next come the Badaga who are farmers, and under them are the Kurumba who are sorcerers, and then the Kota, who are known as artisans and musicians.

539 The following story depicts a Kurumba who came to a Badaga in a time of need, and eventually became his dependent. In this sense it serves as a kind of origin tale for traditional Badaga-Kurumba social relations. It also portrays the Badaga as (231) keepers of fine buffalo herds. Buffalo ownership is often linked to the status claims of the Todas, even though many Badaga own such animals too. In this sense the present tale also asserts the wealth of the Badaga community vis-à-vis the ritual importance of buffalo for the Todas. However, since no reference is made to the highly important Kota group, it is clear that the tale of Unige Mada stops short of providing a general charter for (533) Nilgiri society. This Badaga tale would normally be told in the form of a narrative song. It would be sung before a group of Badagas during a lull in some ritual event.

On quite another level, this tale is also interesting for what it says about hospitality. The Badaga invites an exhausted Kurumba into his house and nurses him lovingly back to health. For this act of generosity his family can expect to enjoy much future prosperity. Such actions help counteract diaster and starvation, not only in an immediate sense, but also in the long run. The images of prosperity used are especially important. The teller speaks of many children under the Badaga's arm, grandchildren on his lap and great grandchildren under his widespread shawl. A similar formulaic phrase, used by bards on the plains just

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

to their own country they preferred to settle down as the cultivators of the Tôḍa-lands, acknowledging the Tôḍas as their landlords, and themselves taking up the humble position of farmers under them; and the lazy Tôḍa who was extremely glad to get people to cultivate his lands was thoroughly satisfied with this arrangement. Even to this day the Baḍagas, in acknowledgment of their subordination to the Tôḍas, pay their *Gûḍu*—their tenants' fee—to these landlords of the Nîlagiris.

Another fact that seems to indicate that the Baḍagas are immigrants is that a crude kind of polyandry exists among them. Baḍaga society allows this practice, and it is not uncommon when a man has five sons for only one of them to be married, though Baḍagas when questioned about it stoutly deny the existence of this custom. If the marriage tie is in this respect somewhat lax, the Baḍaga rules in other ways are very strict, and a woman would be at once out-casted who went astray with a person of a different caste. The existence of this custom among the Baḍagas is, as has been said, probably to be explained by the fact that they are immigrants. Naturally most of those who came up from Maisûr would be men, and the hardships consequent upon the great change of climate and habits of life would tell more severely upon the women than upon the hardier male sex. The practice of polyandry having thus been allowed to grow up obtained the sanction of custom, and still prevails as a caste-rule to which little or no objection is made.

This custom, the existence of all crafts and arts among themselves, and the payments of *Gûḍu* in recognition of the Tôḍas as their landlords, are three very strong proofs of the contention that the Baḍagas are only colonists on these hills, and are not the original inhabitants.

There are several sects among the Baḍagas. Mr. Grigg enumerates eighteen—seven major and eleven minor. From the results of my researches I consider that all these eighteen may be simplified into six—five high-caste and one low-caste.

They are

1. Uḍaya
2. Hâruva
3. Adhikâri (High caste.)
4. Kaṇaka
5. Baḍaga
6. Toraya ... (Low caste.)

"Uḍayas are Lingâyats in religion and carry the *Śivaliṅga*—the

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

of the girl with twenty-five male relatives bring the girl to the future husband's village on the day appointed for the marriage. Three or five women related to the bridegroom receive her. The girl stands opposite to the house of the bridegroom. An elderly lady of the bridegroom's family brings from inside the house two big pots. One she keeps to herself and the other she gives to the girl. All the while the Torayas and Kôṭas who are the mighty musicians of the occasion play music without cessation, and to the accompaniment of this melody they all proceed to the river. Both the pots are filled with water, and the elderly woman and the young would-be wife enter the bridegroom's house with water, while music is incessantly pouring out from the heavy pipes of the Kôṭa musicians and the mouths of the Baḍaga females. The pots are placed inside in the central room, and then the girl falls at the feet of every one assembled there to take part in the marriage ceremonies and she becomes from that day forward a member of that house. The elderly lady by taking her out to the river to fetch water has taught her as it were her household duties in her future husband's house. Before the wife is brought down from her parents' house a small fee, called generally the cloth fee,—*Śila-haṇê*—which is five fanams or 1¼ Rupees is given, together with her price which may be a pretty large amount, varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 200 according to the qualifications of the girl as a good labouring woman in the field. A feast is celebrated in the house on the marriage day at which all people assembled there sit down to eat. This is the whole ceremony of the Baḍaga marriage and the feast closes it. Sometimes a marriage badge—especially among the Uḍaya class—is tied round the neck of the bride. It consists of a gold medal containing the representations of Śiva and Pârvati.

The tie thus formed, however, is not of an absolutely binding nature, for though the young pair now begin to live as husband and wife they may separate at any moment after the marriage described above, provided the *Śila-haṇê* or cloth fee, and the price for the wife originally paid, are returned to the husband. No present or anything to show good relationship is made by the wife's parents to the husband or *vice versâ*, till the wife is about to become a mother. Then a ceremony is performed which is called *Śimanta*. This name is a pure Âryan one and the Baḍagas must have borrowed it from the high caste Hindus. This ceremony which is called *Śimanta* goes also by another more significant name of *Kaṇṇi-kaṭṭêdu* among the Baḍagas, meaning the ceremony of the tying of the cord

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

763 561 payment. They are the lowest of the Baḍaga castes and are regarded as the sons of the five high castes. As soon as the Toraya who carries the sad news approaches a Baḍaga village he removes his turban, so that the very sight of a Toraya without a turban on his head is a sign that he is bringing tidings of death, and the people gather round him at once and hear the news.

535 764 (648) (715) [562] The Kôtas, the hill-musicians, come down now with their shrill music. Then a curious dance commences and the more vehement the dance, the happier it is thought will be the soul of the departed in its transit to the other world. It lasts from morning to evening, and Toryas and Baḍagas including the near relatives of the dead Baḍaga take part in the dance. No woman mingles in the funeral dance if the dead person is a man, but if the deceased is a woman, one old woman, the nearest relative of the dead, takes part in it. This is as it were a notice to the mourners who come to join in the funeral as to whether the dead person is a man or a woman. If no woman is seen in the party of dancers the visitors infer before reaching the house that it is a man that is dead, while if they see a woman among the dancers they know that it is the funeral of a woman that is being performed. Only Toryas mix in the dance with the Baḍagas. The Kôtas who are the musicians on this occasion are not allowed to do so, for they are considered to be of inferior, in fact, of the very lowest position. Some of the men that take part in the dance wear a curious long coat. When one has danced for a considerable time, he takes off the robe and hands it over to someone else who continues the exercise till he too has had enough of it. Whether this special dress has any peculiar significance I cannot say at present. The Toryas then fetch green boughs and twigs from the neighbouring *sholas* and a car five feet long, three feet broad and eight feet high is constructed. When everything is ready all the people assembled go and show their respect for the corpse by touching it on the head. The Toryas alone touch the feet and worship the departed Baḍaga, an indication that they are rather servants than equals of the departed. The corpse is then brought out of the house to a cot placed outside. The agnatic kindred then wash it by pouring water over it and decorate it. Already preparations have been made for a grand feast and before the removal of the corpse every one eats his dinner, except perhaps the nearest relatives of the dead. This is to our ideas a most repulsive custom, and the only defence in favour of it is the belief they have that this feast refreshes the

(618) 764 (524) (774)